

Attitudes to non-native speakers' varieties

Theoretical and methodical considerations
based on a Finnish case study

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<p>Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract</p> <p>This master's thesis treats native speakers' attitudes to non-native speakers' spoken vernacular and standard varieties. It examines which theoretical factors researchers have to pay special regard to when studying attitudes to non-native variation. Based on these factors, the thesis evaluates which methods of the language attitude paradigm suit the study of attitudes to non-native speakers' varieties best. As theoretical background serves the Communication Accommodation Theory in its adapted form for intercultural communication. The thesis draws upon previous findings on relevant factors for the study of native varieties, upon previous findings on relevant factors for the study of non-native language and upon previous findings on the nature of non-native varieties. In order to gain further insights, a case study is conducted.</p> <p>The case study examines native Finnish speakers' preference of non-native Finnish vernacular and standard varieties. As methods, it employs both a matched- and verbal-guise listening test and a direct question approach. Furthermore, it gathers the respondents' justifications for their speaker choices in the listening test. The justifications allow an insight into the respondents' attitudes to the varieties. A non-random sample of 101 native Finnish speaking students from the University of Helsinki is tested. The speaker choices in the listening test are analysed by statistical means (chi-square test). The answers to the direct question and the justifications for the speaker choices are classified into groups of similar answers. The results gained by the listening test and the results gained by the direct question are compared. The findings suggest that the students do not prefer either non-native variety per se. Their variety preference depends on the communication situation. The students do not prefer the same varieties in the case of native and of non-native speakers. While both non-native varieties may sound nice, enthusiastic, self-confident and clear, only vernacular speakers are seen as particularly natural, authentic, relaxed and close to native Finnish speakers. Only standard speakers are associated with professionalism in a broad sense, but leave in some cases the impression of sounding foreigner-like or not natural. Differently than in earlier studies on non-native vernaculars, the non-native Finnish vernacular is thus seen as mainly positive. The results of the two different methods do not match. Either or both of them can thus not be fully reliable.</p> <p>This thesis shows that native speakers' attitudes to non-native varieties are not necessarily the same as to native varieties. Attitudes to non-native varieties have to be studied in their own right, thus. A multitude of factors influences the formation of attitudes to non-native varieties. Non-native and native varieties differ from each other in their form, in the way they are learnt, used and perceived as well as in what they express. Non-native language not as objectively produced by the non-native speakers, but as subjectively perceived by the native interlocutors influences attitudes. Furthermore, attitudes to non-native varieties are likely even more prone to the social desirability bias than attitudes to native varieties. Methods that elicit the respondents' attitudes directly should thus be avoided. The findings of the Finnish case study indicate that also matched-guise tests may suffer from the social desirability bias because of variety recognition. Furthermore, voice recognition is an increasing problem in the digital age. Most methods of the language attitude paradigm do not study natural language data in real-life communication situations. This thesis reveals the need for more innovative research designs. It suggests therefore several methods that researchers of attitudes to non-native variation may employ in future.</p>			
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List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference
F	female speaker
Flat	shared flat scenario
Job	job interview scenario
M	male speaker
MGT	matched-guise technique
NA	no answer (in the case study)
Nat	native speaker
Nonnat	non-native speaker
PL	plural
Pres	group presentation scenario
RP	Received Pronunciation
SG	singular
SLA	second language acquisition
STD	standard variety
VER	vernacular
VGT	verbal-guise technique

1 Introduction

1.1 General

Interlocutors judge each other based on their first impressions. These impressions shape the course of their interaction and may have decisive effects on its outcome. In the case of a job interview, for example, only one applicant is selected. It is generally known that spectators get a first impression of their vis-à-vis on a visual basis. Research on attitudes to languages has shown that listeners get a first impression of speakers also when only hearing them (e.g. Lambert et al. 1960). This impression is based on the listeners' attitude to the speakers' language, i.e. their evaluative orientations to the language (see Garrett 2010: 20). Listeners tend to project their language attitudes on the speakers and to treat the speakers according to these attitudes (ibid: 33). Native speakers most likely know general associations with their language or language variety and understand reactions to their speech correctly. Non-native speakers find it much harder to understand such reactions, however. At the same time, native speakers may not be conscious about the nature and meaning of non-native varieties and their difference from native varieties. Attitudes to non-native language may thus lead to misunderstandings and hinder successful intercultural communication. Rising awareness about attitudes to non-native language and their influence on interaction can help preventing these harmful effects.

During the past decades, language attitude researchers have shed much light on attitudes to native language variation as well as on attitudes to foreign accented speech (Bradac et al. 2001; Giles & Billings 2004). Only few studies have been concerned with attitudes to different varieties of the same language spoken by non-native speakers, however (see Section 2.7). Non-native speakers do not acquire, use and perceive language varieties the same way as native speakers (see Section 2.3). Therefore, native speakers' attitudes to non-native varieties are not necessarily the same as to native varieties. Hence, they should not be deduced from findings on attitudes to native varieties. They have to be studied in their own right.

1.2 Focus, research questions and methods

This master's thesis treats native speakers' attitudes to non-native speakers' spoken varieties within the paradigm of the study of attitudes to language (see Section 2.1).

It focuses on relatively pure vernacular and standard varieties (see Section 2.2). Because of space restrictions, it leaves aside typical language learners' hybrid varieties containing vernacular and standard features (see Section 2.3). The thesis examines the vernacular and the standard variety in a language situation where these varieties constitute – in the understanding of the native speakers – different registers. A register is a language variety that is used in a specific communication situation for a specific purpose (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:rekisteri, own translation).¹ It differs from dialects and sociolects, i.e. varieties exclusively used by a certain local (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:murre, own translation) or social group (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:sosiolekti, own translation). In a language situation where the varieties constitute different registers, the spoken standard is thus not exclusively used by an upper social class, other than for example the Received Pronunciation (RP) in Great Britain (Giles & Billings 2004: 192). A corresponding language situation can be found within the Finnish speaking community in Finland. Different vernaculars are the means of everyday communication of the whole population. The standard variety is used only in formal situations as in the media (Paunonen 2005: 167–168, 178–180; Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 67–68; see also Subsection 3.1.1). This thesis investigates how native speakers' attitudes to non-native varieties in a corresponding language situation can be studied within the language attitude paradigm. It addresses the following central research questions:

- I. Which theoretical factors researchers of native speakers' attitudes to non-native variation have to pay special regard to?
- II. In consequence of I., which methods of the language attitude paradigm suit the study of native speakers' attitudes to non-native speakers' varieties best?

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) in its adapted form for the intercultural context by Gallois et al. (1988) and Gallois et al. (1995) serves as theoretical background for the investigation. The CAT has originally been formulated as Speech Accommodation Theory by Giles (1973). It has developed into a central

¹ *Tieteen termipankki* is the Bank of Finnish Terminology. It is a terminology database of different branches of science. For citation, it demands the mention of both the branch of science and the term separated by a colon, the URL and the date of retrieval. For consistency reasons, the URL and the date of retrieval are given only in the list of references at the end of this thesis, as with other online sources. In addition, an English translation of the reference is provided.

theory for the study of attitudes to language (Garrett 2010: 105). It states that interlocutors' adjustment of their communication styles is a sign of language attitudes at work (Garrett 2010: 105–120). In the most basic case, a speaker communicates either more similarly or more dissimilarly as her or his interlocutor in order to gain the interlocutor's approval or to keep a social distance (Dragojevic et al. 2015: 3–13). However, additional factors play a role in the intercultural context. This thesis approaches its central research questions by reviewing these factors (see Section 2.5) as well as findings of previous research on attitudes to language in general, on attitudes to non-native variation in particular and on the nature of non-native varieties. It presents the central methods of the language attitude paradigm and evaluates them, on the background of the discussed theoretical factors, for their suitability for the study of attitudes to non-native variation. In order to reveal further important theoretical and methodical factors, a case study is conducted (see Chapter 3). The study employs the most suitable and feasible methods, a combined matched- and verbal-guise listening test and a direct question approach (see also Section 3.2). The study is conducted in Helsinki, Finland, which offers a suitable language situation. The study investigates native Finnish speaking students' preference of non-native Finnish speakers using either a general vernacular from Southern Finland or the standard variety (see Subsection 3.1.1). In the listening test, the students have to choose one out of two speakers, one speaker employing the vernacular and the other speaker employing the standard variety. The listening test follows thereby the listening test by Leemann et al. (2015) in conceptualising the respondents' variety preference as their decision-making between the guises. For this case study, decision-making is conceptualised according to the Encyclopedia of Social Psychology (Vohs & Baumeister 2007: 224) as “the act of evaluating (i.e., forming opinions of) several alternatives and choosing the one most likely to achieve one or more goals”. The listening test follows Rakić et al. (2011) in including several speakers uttering each matched guises, employing a combined matched- and verbal guise design. The varieties are presented in three different scenarios representing three different communication situations (a group presentation, searching for a flatmate and a job interview). In order to gain deeper insights into their attitudes to the non-native varieties, the students are asked to justify their speaker choices in the listening test. In order to conduct a comparison of methods, the students are also asked about their non-native variety preferences directly in a questionnaire after the listening test.

The focus of the case study lies on the attitudes of by birth monolingual native Finnish speakers, i.e. on Finnish speakers who have learnt Finnish as their first language and indicate it as their only native language (see Section 2.3). The study considers only the language usage of non-native Finnish speakers who did not grow up in Finland. It focuses thus on intercultural communication according to the definition by Gudykunst and Mody (2002: ix) as “communication between people from different national cultures”. The respondents are chosen amongst the students of the University of Helsinki. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. Do native Finnish speakers prefer the non-native Finnish vernacular or the non-native Finnish standard variety?
2. Do the variety preference results gained by the listening test and the variety preference results gained by the direct question match?
3. What attitudes to the non-native Finnish varieties emerge from the respondents’ justifications for their preferences?
4. Does the native Finnish speakers’ preference of non-native Finnish varieties depend on the communication situation?
5. Do native Finnish speakers prefer the same non-native Finnish as native Finnish varieties?

The respondents’ speaker choices in the listening test are analysed by statistical means using MS Office Excel and the calculation tool for chi-square tests provided by Preacher (2001). For the chi-square tests, a significance level of 5% is chosen ($\alpha=0.05$). The respondents’ answers to the direct question about their non-native variety preferences are classified into groups of the same variety preference, i.e. of a preference for the vernacular or the standard variety. In order to answer question 2, the variety preferences gained by the direct question and the variety preferences gained by the listening test are compared. The percentages are calculated how often the respondents have actually chosen in the listening test the variety they have indicated to prefer in their answers to the direct question. If the respondents have chosen the variety they have indicated to prefer in all or nearly all the cases (100% or close to 100%), it is assumed that the results gained by the different methods match. In order to answer question 3, the respondents’ justifications for choosing or not choosing a non-native speaker in the listening test are read through and similar justifications are divided into groups. The respondents’ justifications reflect their attitudes to the non-native varieties. The number of mentions of a certain justification

is interpreted to indicate a rough degree of generality of the attitude amongst the respondents. The attitudes to the non-native vernacular and to the non-native standard variety are presented separately for each scenario as well as overall. For a comparison of the attitudes to the two different varieties, the results are visualised with the programme *Palladio* developed by Humanities + Design, Stanford University. The programme has originally been designed for visualising complex historical data (see Humanities + Design, Stanford University), but suits also the visualisation of data from other subjects within the humanities. In order to illustrate the respondents' different variety preferences concerning question 5 in more depth, also the respondents' justifications for choosing a native speaker are classified and the results visualised using *Palladio*. Finally, also the respondents' other spontaneous comments are analysed for information about their understanding of the study.

Hypotheses to questions as the questions 1 and 5 of this study are usually based on the CAT (see Section 2.5). However, no hypotheses could be formed here because of a lack of up-to-date data on the orientation of native Finnish speakers to their own native speech community (*in-group vitality*; see Subsection 2.5.2), on their beliefs of their own language usage (see Subsection 2.5.3) and on their orientation to non-native speakers (*accommodative orientation*; see Subsection 2.5.2). Furthermore, possible influences of language ideologies or of stereotypes on native Finnish speakers' attitudes remained unclear as well (see Subsections 2.6.3 and 2.6.4 as well as Section 3.1). Concerning question 2 it is expected on the basis of previous results (Garrett 2010: 24–25; see also Subsection 2.8.3) that the results gained by the two different methods do not match. Concerning question 3 it is expected on the basis of previous results (Giles & Billings 2004: 187; Garrett 2010: 102–103) that the respondents' preference depends on the communication situation.

1.3 Goals and significance

The goal of this master's thesis is to expose special theoretical and methodical factors within the study of attitudes to non-native varieties for future research. The Finnish case study shows how non-native Finnish speakers' choice of either a more vernacular-like or a more standard-like variety may affect their popularity amongst native Finnish speakers. The thesis wishes to contribute thereby to the still under-researched field of study of attitudes to non-native variation. Already Gumperz (1981: 330) noted the high frequency of “miscommunications attributable to

undetected systematic differences in signalling conventions” in interethnic communication. The use of assumingly differently understood varieties in native and non-native speakers’ encounters carries a regrettable potential of misunderstandings. Both native and non-native speakers could therefore benefit of rising consciousness about the subject. Foreign-language immigrants into Finland may be interested to know if native Finnish speakers favour non-natives using the vernacular or the standard variety in a certain communication situation. For them, the questions may arise what variety they should learn (first) and what kind of reactions their choice of a variety may trigger. The study results may have implications for second language learning and teaching and for intercultural communication. It may also contribute new viewpoints to the current political debates of many European countries about the role of language in the integration of immigrants and about language proficiency as a key to naturalisation (Hogan-Brun et al. 2009), where the existence of language varieties has often been ignored (see e.g. Horner 2009: 124–125; Flubacher 2013).

1.4 Structure

The following chapter presents the theoretical and methodical background of the study of attitudes to language variation. It introduces the language attitude paradigm (2.1) and defines the central terms of this thesis, i.e. language varieties (2.2), non-native varieties (2.3) and attitudes to language variation (2.4). Section 2.5 presents the central theory of this thesis, the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). Section 2.6 summarises relevant factors for the study of attitudes to language in general and section 2.7 relevant factors for the study of attitudes to non-native speakers’ varieties in particular. The final section of the chapter (2.8) presents the traditional research methods of the language attitude paradigm. Chapter 3 presents the Finnish case study. Its first section (3.1) provides background information about the language situation in Finland, about Finnish as a second language and about attitudes to non-native Finnish speaking immigrants. Section 3.2 goes into the reasons for selecting as a method for the case study a matched- and verbal- guise listening test, combined with a direct question. Section 3.3 presents the listening test and section 3.4 the questionnaire. Section 3.5 describes the conduct of the study and provides background information about the respondents. Section 3.6 presents the results of the preliminary analyses and section 3.7 the results of the validity test. The final section of this chapter (3.8) presents the results of the case study, addressing

each of its five research questions. Chapter 4 discusses the results of this thesis. It evaluates and discusses the Finnish case study and summarises the special theoretical and methodical factors for the study of attitudes to non-native variation that this thesis brought to light. The final chapter (5) points out the importance of the study of attitudes to non-native variation and suggests possible subjects and methodical approaches for future research.

2 Theoretical and methodical background

2.1 Study of attitudes to language variation

Attitudes to language variation are studied within the paradigm of the study of attitudes to language variation, also called the *social psychology of language* (Bradac et al. 2001; Giles & Billings 2004). The study of attitudes to language can be defined as the study of language users' evaluative orientations to language based on the here applied definition of attitude by Garrett (2010: 20) (see Section 2.4). The study of attitudes to language belongs to the greater field of study of language perceptions by laypersons. It lies on the interface of general linguistics, psychology and sociology. The subfield addressing attitudes to different mostly native areal varieties is folk linguistics² or perceptual dialectology (see e.g. Preston: 1999; Long & Preston: 2002). The latest research overviews are by Cargile et al. (1994), Bradac et al. (2001) and Giles & Billings (2004). Garrett's (2010) volume *Attitudes to Language* provides an introduction to the field of study.

The field has its beginning in the ground-breaking study by Lambert et al. (1960) on attitudes to French and English in Montréal. Lambert et al. (1960) introduced the afterwards often applied matched-guise technique (MGT) (see Subsection 2.8.2). Their findings suggested that listeners attribute personality traits as intelligence, sociability or ambition, but also appearance as height and good looks to speakers while only hearing those (Lambert et al. 1960: 44). This happens because of the listeners' classification of the speakers according to their language and variety

² In the Finnish language usage, the study of attitudes to language is subsumed under the term *kansanlingvistiikka*, i.e. *folk linguistics* (Palander 2001: 147; Vaattovaara 2005: 466; TTP: Kielitiede:kansanlingvistiikka, own translation), without having any of the sometimes negative nuances of the English term. The field of perceptual dialectology is called *kansandialektologia* or *havaintodialektologia* in Finnish (Palander 2001: 147; Vaattovaara 2005: 466).

stereotypes (ibid: 49). Thus, listeners gain audible first impression about their vis-à-vis in a comparable way as they gather visual first impression. Following Lambert et al. (1960), language attitudes, how they arise and how they may influence their bearers have been studied in different speech communities around the world. Vaattovaara (2005: 473) provides an overview of a number of Finnish studies, now to supplement with the studies by Kokkonen (2007), Leinonen (2015) and Niemelä (2016) treating attitudes to non-native language.

2.2 Language varieties, vernacular and standard variety

A language variety is “the typical language usage of a certain region, historical period, area of expertise, group, or individual” (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:varieteetti, own translation). Varieties indicate thus i.a. social statuses, personal relationships, communication situations and topics of conversation (Fishman 1972: 4). Thereby, a variety becomes a “powerful social force”, as Cargile et al. (1994: 211) point out. It provides the interlocutors with information about each other and may thereby influence their evaluations of each other. There are many types of varieties. Two types of varieties that can be distinguished are vernaculars and standard varieties. A vernacular is a language form used for daily communication in a certain region. It follows unconsciously developed norms (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:kansankieli, own translation). A standard variety, on the contrary, is a language form which is used inter-regionally and has the function of a communication device in public situations. It is often based on the written standard (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:yleiskieli, own translation). It has become unified by standardisation and is regulated by norms (Haugen 1997 [1972]: 341–352).

2.3 Non-native varieties

Non-native varieties³ differ from native varieties in several ways. Most saliently, non-native varieties unveil a speaker’s non-nativeness. *Non-native speakers* are

³ Non-native variation is studied by a range of disciplines and under different names, i.a. by sociolinguistics, by variationist linguistics, by interlanguage and intercultural pragmatics, by second language acquisition research and within the intersection of SLA research and sociolinguistics. It is addressed i.a. as *L2 variation* (Zuengler 1991: 224), *advanced proficiency* or *register learning* (Byrnes 2012: 511) and as *sociolinguistic competence* (see e.g. Bayley & Regan 2004). Due to its sociolinguistic focus, this thesis addresses it as *non-native variation* in analogy to (native) variation as studied by sociolinguistics.

regarded in this thesis as non-native when they did not learn nor use the language in question from birth and are perceived as non-native speakers by native speakers. The main focus of the Finnish case study is additionally on non-native speakers who did not grow up in Finland. *Native speakers* of a language, on the contrary, have learnt and used the language from birth and indicate the language in question as their native language.⁴ A non-native variety can thus be defined as the language usage in a certain communication situation by a speaker who has not used and learnt the language in question since birth and is perceived as non-native by the native speakers of the language. The following subsections enter into the questions what characterises non-native speakers' varieties and how they arise.

It is generally known that non-native speakers' language varies by foreign accent, by the degree of (perceived) fluency and by (perceived) intelligibility. These are the typical features of learners' language. Foreign accented speech means speech containing features from another language that distinguish it from native speech (Toivola 2011: 14; Leinonen 2015: 24). Intelligibility denotes "the extent to which an utterance is actually understood" (Derwing & Munro 1995: 91). Fluency is not uniformly defined (Ullakonoja 2011: 23; for a review see Lauranto 2005) and lay persons are likely to perceive it differently from linguistic professionals (Ullakonoja 2011: 26–29). Generally spoken, fluency is linked to the accuracy of grammar, pronunciation, rate of speaking, the perceived ease of articulation and scarceness of hesitation (ibid: 29).

In addition to these parameters, non-native speakers' language varies also by the speakers' sociolinguistic background variables, as does native speakers' language. The way in which non-native speakers' sociolinguistic background variables connect to their non-native varieties differ from the way they connect in the case of native speakers, however. Non-native varieties and what they signal differ from native varieties mainly by three reasons: their learning, perception and usage.

⁴ There are no universally accepted definitions of the terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker*, as no single criterion can capture the concepts unambiguously, not even *birth*. Therefore, additional criteria are chosen for different research foci (Medgyes 2000: 632). As language variety perception is essential for the study of language attitudes, this thesis draws on the criterion of perception.

According to second language acquisition theory, there are broadly spoken two different settings for second language learning⁵: naturalistic and instructed (Doughty & Long 2003: 4), also called incidental and intentional (Hulstijn 2003: 349). Naturalistic or incidental learning denotes language learning in everyday life by using the language. Instructed or intentional learning denotes language learning in a course by instruction. In language courses, learners are most likely to receive instruction in the standard variety, both orally and written (Hulstijn 2003: 349; Williams 2012: 546–547; for the Finnish context, see Subsection 3.1.2). Non-native speakers learning the language in everyday life, on the contrary, are likely to pick up vernaculars (Magnan & Lafford 2012: 532–533). However, non-native speakers do not necessarily receive the same input as native speakers in a naturalistic setting (Zuengler 1991: 234–241; Gass 2003: 230–231) and they do not have the same possibilities to use the language as native speakers (Norton 2000: 41–44). Non-native speakers may be addressed in foreigner talk, i.e. with simplified vocabulary, syntax and rate of speaking as a reaction to non-native speech (Ellis 1994: 248–257). According to the author's experience, non-native speakers may also be addressed in another language. Non-native speakers are often addressed in English in Finland by both officials and private persons, even if the non-native speakers start the conversation in Finnish. Immigrants learning the language in its native environment usually meet with both the naturalistic and the instructed learning setting. All these conditions may hinder the non-native speakers from learning a natural vernacular or the pure standard variety. Many non-native speakers develop therefore hybrid varieties containing standard and vernacular features (Muikku-Werner 1997: 604; Kuparinen 2001: 21–23; Shohamy 2009: 51). The different learning settings and one-sided inputs result thus in differences between native and non-native varieties, but also in different proficiencies amongst non-native speakers, in an extreme case to proficiency in only the standard variety or in a vernacular. Furthermore, non-native

⁵ The terms *second* and *foreign language*, as well as *language learning* and *acquisition* are perpetually subject to debate (Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen 2003: 162; Daniels 2003: 2; Latomaa & Tuomela 1993). This thesis conceptualises language learning as one type of learning taking place in different settings (as the language socialisation approach, see Watson-Gegeo & Nielsen 2003: 162), and prefers the term *second language*, as Latomaa & Tuomela (1993) in the Finnish context, as the focus of the case study is on non-native Finnish in Finland. Exceptions are the established terms second language acquisition (SLA), and foreign language accent (see Subsection 2.7.2).

speakers' new environment does not necessarily coincide with the environment in their country of origin. Therefore, neither do their linguistic input and resulting variety coincide with their own social background variables. Non-native speakers may learn an urban vernacular, whereas their native dialect is rural, or the sociolect of the working class, whereas their native background is academic. Non-native varieties do thus not provide listeners with cues to the speakers' geographical and social origin as native varieties.

Non-native speakers perceive and use their varieties also differently than native speakers. For a considerable period of time, non-native varieties are in fact likely to be no varieties, but the only possible language form at hand for language learners. According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), this is the case until reaching the C1-level (Council of Europe, Language Policy Unit: 24). Less proficient non-native speakers can therefore be considered either more or less unconscious about the different native varieties, more or less ignorant about the social functions of the varieties or more or less unable to use the varieties. This may be because of a lack of proficiency or a lack of sense of belonging to the speech community, as Kuparinen (2001: 17) shows. On an advanced proficiency level, non-native speakers may develop sociolinguistic competence and strive to use the varieties as the native community does. But they may also use the varieties of their non-native languages according to the customs of their native language community, according to Gallois et al. (1988: 160–161) “if they see language as an important dimension of their group, see their group boundaries (especially linguistic boundaries) as hard and closed, and see their group as having high ethnolinguistic vitality”. Non-native speakers may also start assigning own social functions and meanings to the varieties within the non-native language community (Byrnes 2012: 511). Non-native varieties differ thus in many respects from native varieties. Neither native nor non-native speakers are necessarily conscious about this fact, however.

2.4 Attitudes

There is no universally accepted definition of the term *attitude* to the present day (Garrett 2010: 19). Garrett (2010: 20) defines it as “an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, [...] etc.” and describes attitudes as having essentially the following properties. Attitudes are socially learnt, but hold

by an individual. They are thus socio-psychological in nature (ibid: 29). Attitudes consist of three components: the cognitive, the affectual and the behavioural component (ibid: 23–29). They may vary individually (ibid: 162), contextually (ibid: 87) and according to the interlocutors' relationship (ibid: 95–98; see also Section 2.5). They are influenced i.a. by stereotypes and ideologies (Garrett 2010: 32–33; see also Subsections 2.6.3 and 2.6.4). Attitudes are thus socially learnt cognitive orientations that are connected to feelings and evaluations and they are influenced by various factors. They may or may not influence their bearers' behaviour (Bradac et al. 2001: 137–138; Garrett 2010: 19–29).

2.5 Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

2.5.1 General statements

The present section introduces the central theory of this thesis, the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) as adapted for the intercultural context by Gallois et al. (1988) and Gallois et al. (1995). The latest research overview with a focus on intercultural communication can be found in Gudykunst (2002: 187–190) and the latest general research overview in Dragojevic et al. (2015). The CAT has served as a theoretical background for numerous language attitude studies. It views the interlocutors' adjustment of their communication styles in interactive communication as signs of language attitudes (Garrett 2010: 105–120). After evaluating each other, interlocutors adjust their communication styles. They may start communicating more similarly as their interlocutor. This adjustment is called *convergence*. Interlocutors can also start communicating more dissimilarly. This adjustment is called *divergence* (Dragojevic et al. 2015: 3–4). According to the CAT, interlocutors may also continue to communicate as normally without adjustment. This is called *maintenance* (Dragojevic et al. 2015: 4). Maintenance is a problematic concept in the eyes of the author of this thesis, however. The concept is based on the assumption by Giles & Powesland (1975: 159) that in the beginning of each conversation, speakers have a “normal speech” that they in turn adapt or maintain. As all communication happens in interaction, the question arises, however, what such a normal communication style could be. Dragojevic et al. (2015: 4) give as an example for maintenance the situation where Anglophone residents of Montréal are addressed in French but respond in English. Gallois et al. (1995: 117) note that maintenance is “usually perceived as divergence”. According to the CAT, not the objectively measurable

communication style adjustments are crucial, but the communication style adjustments as they are perceived by the interlocutors (see Subsection 2.5.3). The interlocutors' actual impression of an adjustment shapes their attitudes. The Francophone addresser in the example above will most likely perceive the Anglophone addressee's English answer as divergence. The question arises, thus, if maintenance really exists.

Speakers adjust their way of communicating either to gain their interlocutor's approval, to maintain their identity or to keep a social distance. In the default case, convergence happens to gain an interlocutor's approval, maintenance to maintain one's identity and divergence to keep a social distance (ibid: 8–13). Thereby, the degree of convergence increases with the need for approval (Giles et al. 1991: 19). Speakers may also take into account possible special needs of their interlocutor and adapt their way of communicating in order to meet these needs. This adjustment is called *addressee focus* (ibid: 5–6). The concept of *addressee focus* has been introduced by Coupland et al. (1988). Coupland et al. (1988) show that interlocutors focus on their addressee for example when accommodating to elderly people. Zuengler (1991) shows that communication accommodation on the basis of an addressee focus happens also in intercultural communication when native interlocutors focus on a non-native speaker's language competence and engage in foreigner talk (see also Section 2.3). There are numerous exceptions from these basic rules of communication accommodation, however, especially in the field of intercultural communication. The CAT theorises that the interlocutors' evaluations of each other and their communicative adjustments depend on a range of features of the communication situation. The most important features for the focus of this thesis and their influence on the interlocutors' communication accommodation are presented below.

2.5.2 Interlocutors' accommodative orientations

When entering an encounter, interlocutors have an *accommodative orientation*, i.e. an orientation to their own group (*in-group*) and to their interlocutors' group (*out-group*) (Gallois et al. 1995: 118–119). The accommodative orientation influences the listeners' perception of their interlocutor, their own adjustments, as well as their perception of the interlocutor's adjustments (ibid: 137–142). The interlocutors' relationship to their in-group depends on their dependence on the group and their

solidarity with it. Dependent and solidary members prefer divergence in out-group members, independent and less solidary members prefer convergence (Gallois et al. 1988: 165). The interlocutors' orientation to the out-group includes amongst i.a. the perceived *in-group vitality*, i.e. the degree of one's own group's identity security, and possible threats from the out-group (Gallois et al. 1995: 139). Generally, dominate group members with an insecure identity evaluate subordinate group members' convergence negatively and dominate group members with a secure identity positively (ibid: 139–140). In the opinion of the author, the concept of strictly distinguishable in- and out-groups may be too rigid to account for real-life communication situations, however. In real-life communication situations, group membership is most likely viewed in a more dynamic way. Other group memberships as age, gender and professional groups may override groups of first languages.

2.5.3 Interlocutors' perceptions

The interlocutors react to their perceptions of the communication situation and of the communicative adjustments. However, their perceptions may deviate from the objective features of the communication situation and the objectively measurable communicative adjustments. Non-objective perceptions of the interlocutor's adjustments are called *subjective accommodation* (Gallois et al. 1995: 137–142). For example, the study by Giles' & Bourhis' (1976: 578–579) showed that Cardiffians rated West Indians with RP most favourably, West Indians maintaining their ethnolinguistic style somewhat less favourably, but West Indians converging to a Cardiff variety least favourably. Giles & Bourhis (1976: 581) doubted, therefore, that the Cardiffians perceived the West Indians' convergence to their local dialect as a convergence at all. Because native English speakers view the RP as prestigious, they perceive themselves to (strive to) use it. Therefore, they are likely to perceive an actual convergence to their dialect as a divergence away from the RP. Listeners can thus have wrong assumptions about their own communication style (see also Gallois et al. 1988: 180). Therefore, not the communication situation and the communicative adjustments in their objectivity, but their perceptions by the interlocutors are important for the study of attitudes to language (Hewstone & Giles 1986: 10; Cargile et al. 1994: 226–227).

2.5.4 Interlocutors' causal attributions

Listeners perceive communication adjustments in the light of the speakers' ability, effort and possibility, i.e. depending on language proficiency, intentionality and external pressure (Giles et al. 1991: 23–25; Gallois et al. 1995: 146–147; Garrett 2010: 108–110; Dragojevic 2015 et al.: 15–16). These causal attributions influence the listeners' attitudes. Generally, listeners develop a positive attitude if convergence happens voluntarily and a negative attitude if divergence happens voluntarily, but less so if it happens because of a lack of language proficiency (Garrett 2010: 108–110). Misunderstandings because of misattribution are common (Giles et al. 1991: 24).

2.5.5 Sociohistorical context and immediate situation

The sociohistorical context as (former) group rivalry, the immediate communication situation with its norms and ideologies, as well as individual factors as socio-psychological states influence the adjustments and speaker evaluations (Gallois et al. 1995: 137–143). Status-marked situations as interviews, work or school settings expect participants to diverge in their language usage in order to converge and vice versa because of norms. This phenomenon is called *psychological accommodation* (Gallois et al. 1988: 171–172; Dragojevic et al. 2015: 6–7). Ball et al. (1984: 116, 124–127) showed that using formal language resulted in more positive results for the job applicant regardless of the interviewer's variety. Thus, conformity to social norms and to language ideologies may be more suitable than convergence (Gallois et al. 1988: 161; Giles et al. 1991: 22).

2.6 Relevant factors for the study of attitudes to language

2.6.1 Communication situation

Previous research has shown that a multitude of features of the communication situation influences attitudes to language varieties (Bradac et al. 2001: 141–145; Giles & Billings 2004: 187). As the CAT theorises, this happens through the interlocutors' perception (Cargile et al. 1994: 223–227). No language variety is thus a priori more or less prestigious, i.e. socially more or less valued (Dragojevic et al. 2015: 4). Rather, interlocutors perceive them to be more or less suitable within certain circumstances. It is unclear yet how different varieties are perceived, categorised and distinguished (Berthele 2010: 259). According to Berthele (2010:

259), interlocutors may recall “stabilised intonation and sound patterns [...], instantiated through memorised phrases, words, or sentences” (own translation), or notions of a language or variety represented by known prototypical speakers.

First, features of the language variety itself and the speech style influence attitudes, such as the syntactic complexity, lexical diversity and provenance, speech rate and degree of politeness (Garrett 2010: 88–91). Attitudes are held to all levels of language (pronunciation, words, grammar, dialects and accents) (Garrett 2010: 6).

Second, contextual features and their related norms influence attitudes, such as the professional context, the topic of the conversation as well as the general cultural, political, historical and economical background (Cargile et al. 1994: 224–227; Giles & Billings 2004: 193–194; Garrett 2010: 121–141). Especially, also the features of an experimental data collection context as the characteristics of the researcher, the language used during data collection and the study design (Garrett 2010: 46, 102–103) have an impact on attitudes.

Third, the interlocutors’ features influence attitudes, such as their physical appearance, sex and gender, age, social class, area of residence, education, occupation, but also their mood, expertise and relation to each other (Cargile et al. 1994: 215–223; Garrett 2010: 91–101). For example, undergraduates rate employability differently from professionals (Parton et al. 2002). Also persons with linguistic education rate languages differently from persons without linguistic education (Kokkonen 2007: 258–259; Nupponen 2011: 255; Leinonen 2015: 59). When rating varieties, interlocutors tend to orientate on two key dimensions: on their interlocutor’s perceived socioeconomic status and solidarity (Hewstone & Giles 1986: 14). They tend to rate standard varieties more positively on socioeconomic traits (Giles & Billings 2004: 191–193) and vernaculars more positively on solidarity traits (ibid: 194–197). Furthermore, variety use running counter expectations influences attitudes (Garrett 2010: 93).

2.6.2 Manifestation in behaviour and social desirability

Attitudes to language varieties are related to behaviour (Giles & Billings 2004: 193–194). They influence their bearers’ treatment of their interlocutors and shape so communication and interaction (ibid.). Thereby, language attitudes may advantage or disadvantage social groups (Garrett 2010: 15–16; 27), influence the development of language variation and trigger language change (Labov 1984: 33; Coupland 2016).

There is no straightforward relationship between attitudes and behaviour, however. What leads attitudes to surface in behaviour and what hinders them is subject to further research (Garrett 2010: 25–29). One hindering factor is social desirability, i.e. the respondents' answering what they perceive to be socially appropriate (ibid: 44–45). According to Garrett (2010: 44), especially the study of attitudes to minority groups' language suffers from this. Non-native speakers can be seen as a minority group in the native speaking community. Therefore, it is assumed here that also attitudes to non-native language and variation are especially prone to the social desirability bias, assumingly even more so when immigration has turned into a socially and politically highly sensitive subject. The study of attitudes to non-native varieties has to ensure to avoid social desirable answers, thus.

2.6.3 Stereotypes

Attitudes are influenced by stereotypes (Giles & Billings 2004: 188; Garrett 2010: 32). Garrett (2010: 32) defines social stereotyping as the attribution of certain features (as character traits, interests, occupations and physical appearance) to groups and their members. Stereotyping helps differentiate social groups and structure the social world for easier handling (Tajfel 1981: 147–166). When connected to negative feelings, however, they may also hamper relationships. In the case of language attitudes, a speaker's way of communicating activates a listener's stereotypical view of a group who communicates alike. This leads the listener to attribute this group's traits to the individual speaker and to treat the speaker accordingly (see Garrett 2010: 6). Attitudes to non-native speakers' varieties are thus directly influenced by the stereotypes that their bearers hold to non-native speakers. In the case of intercultural communication, attitudes are influenced by the stereotypes to immigrants in general. Thus, the study of attitudes to non-native varieties has to take into account also attitudes to non-native speakers and/or immigrants in general.

2.6.4 Ideologies

Attitudes are further influenced by ideologies (Garrett 2010: 34–35), i.a. the standard language ideology (Giles & Billings 2004: 191–193). An ideology is according to Garrett (2010: 34) a “patterned but naturalised set of assumptions and values about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or cultural group.” The standard language ideology holds that the standard language is associated with “correctness, authority, prestige and legitimacy” (ibid: 34). Earlier

researchers viewed the standard variety as generally superior (Milroy 2007), because of their focus on mostly English speaking communities where the RP is spoken by the upper social class (Giles & Billings 2004: 191–193, 194–195; Garrett 2010: 7–8). This view was reconsidered when findings showed the power of minority languages and non-standard varieties in other speech communities (Giles & Billings 2004: 194–195; Garrett 2010: 7–8). A speech community's attitude to its standard variety is thus influenced by the history of its standardisation, by its contemporary use and the power of the concurrent vernaculars.

2.7 Relevant factors for the study of attitudes to non-native varieties

2.7.1 Study of attitudes to non-native speakers' language

The focus of most studies on attitudes to non-native speakers' language has been on attitudes to accented speech (Garrett 2010: 12–13) and on attitudes to learners' language (Zuengler 1991: 223, 233). Only few studies have addressed attitudes to non-native speakers' sociolinguistic varieties. Interlocutors hold attitudes to non-native speakers' accent and to the different features of learners' language as fluency and intelligibility (see Section 2.3). Thus, researchers of attitudes to non-native speakers' sociolinguistic varieties have to take into account the respondents' attitudes to these factors as well or to control for them in the research design. The following subsection presents the role of accent and the role of the different features of learners' language for the formation of attitudes. Its special focus is on findings of Finnish studies. Subsection 2.7.3 presents the previous studies on attitudes to non-native sociolinguistic varieties.

2.7.2 Attitudes to accented speech and learners' language

Native speakers hold different attitudes to different first language accents (Garrett 2010: 12–13; Leinonen 2015: 112–114). The following factors facilitate native speakers' comprehension of non-native speech and foster positive ratings: light accent (Leinonen 2015: 126–128), the familiarity with non-native speech in general and with a certain accent in particular (Derwing & Munro 1997: 3) and the perceived intelligibility and perceived fluency (Derwing & Munro 1997: 2; Muikku-Werner 1997: 607; Leinonen 2015: 104–105; Niemelä 2016: 88–90). Leinonen (2015: 126–128; 149) has found furthermore that the respondents' place of origin influence their accent ratings, but not their sex and quantity of interaction with immigrants.

2.7.3 Attitudes to ethnolects, non-native sociolects, dialects and registers

The speakers' ethnicity⁶ proved to influence their interlocutors' attitudes (Giles & Billings 2004: 195). Thus, researches of attitudes to non-native sociolinguistic variation have to ensure that the respondents' attitudes are indeed to the non-native speakers' sociolinguistic variety, not to ethnolects. Also non-native speakers' adopted sociolects proved to influence their interlocutors' attitudes (Ryan & Sebastian 1980: 231–322; Niemelä 2016: 107). Thus, researchers of attitudes to registers have to ensure as well that the respondents' do not mistake the registers for sociolects.

Only three studies⁷ could be reviewed that examined adopted dialects or registers and concern thus the Finnish case study directly. The already mentioned study by Giles & Bourhis (1976) has shown that Cardiffians' attitudes to West Indians' RP are more favourable than to the adopted non-native dialect, the Cardiff variety (Giles & Bourhis 1976: 578–579; see also Subsection 2.5.3). Platt & Weber (1984: 136–138) have studied native English speakers trying to adapt to an informal Singaporean register, which caused amusement and even annoyance in the Singaporeans instead of positive attitudes, as the English speakers intended. Hence, in both cases, convergence in terms of the CAT (see Section 2.5) has triggered negative evaluations. So far, there is little data on native Finnish speakers' attitudes to non-native Finnish adopted registers. Kokkonen (2007) in a pilot study for her dissertation (in preparation, see Feller-Kokkonen) has examined a native Finnish speaking hotel industry professional's ratings of non-native Finnish speaking job applicants' performance. In her study, both the non-native Finnish vernacular and standard variety have been rated negatively. Kokkonen (2007: 256–258) assumes, however, that the negative attitudes do not concern the varieties themselves, but the vernacular speaker's lack of interactional skills and the standard speaker's overall insecurity (ibid: 257–258). Kokkonen's results thus point out again the multifactorial influences on native speakers' attitudes. As this summary shows, the results of all previous studies on adopted non-native dialects and registers indicate that native speakers hold generally negative attitudes to adopted dialects or registers.

⁶ For the scientifically problematic term of ethnicity see Fishman 1997.

⁷ Peter Ball's (1983) studies on stereotypes of Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon accents in Australia could have provided further interesting insights. According to Garrett (2010: 60), Ball (1983) has examined "how far it was advantageous to an immigrant into Australia to learn to speak in an authentically Australian manner". Ball's studies could unfortunately not be accessed, however.

The following section presents the traditional research methods of the study of attitudes to language.

2.8 Research methods to study attitudes to language

2.8.1 Three approaches and their combination

All attitudes are difficult to study because of their socio-psychological nature and the vast range of influencing factors. Researchers have applied three kinds of methods to study attitudes to language: indirect, direct and societal treatment methods (Garrett 2010: 37–52). These methods are presented in the following subsections along with selected example studies either addressing attitudes to a non-native language or serving as a model for the Finnish case study (Rakić et al. 2011; Leemann et al. 2015). Garrett (2010: 37) points out that none of these methodical approaches is best per se. He advises researchers to combine different methods whenever possible in order to benefit from their advantages and balance their disadvantages (ibid: 201).

2.8.2 Indirect approach

Indirect methods elicit attitudes indirectly, i.e. without the respondents being conscious about it (Garrett 2010: 41). They are represented mainly by the matched-guise technique (MGT) and its modification, the verbal-guise technique (VGT). The MGT has been developed by Lambert et al. (1960) to elicit respondents' privately held attitudes. For a matched-guise study, a bilingual or bidialectal person records guises, i.e. texts in the languages or varieties to be studied. The guises are identical with regard to their content. Also prosodic and paralinguistic features as speech rate, pauses and hesitations are held constant in the recordings, because research has shown that respondents hold attitudes to these (Giles & Billings 2004: 188–189; Garrett 2010: 40–43). A constant speech rate is especially important when examining job interviews, as increased speech rate leads to perceptions of increased competence (Garrett 2010: 90–91). In the VGT, different speakers record the guises whenever it is not possible to adequately mimic the varieties or to avoid voice recognition (ibid: 42). The guises differ thus only with regard to the linguistic features of the languages or varieties to be studied. The recorded guises are played to the respondents who believe to hear different speakers. The respondents are asked to judge the speakers on the basis of the recordings, often by using person perception rating scales. The MGT allows controlling the speakers' individual voice features and makes the respondents

react only to the language or variety differences (Giles & Billings 2004: 188–189; Garrett 2010: 40–43). The MGT and VGT suffer also from several weaknesses, however. The most important weaknesses from the perspective of this thesis are presented below.

The first weakness concerns the varieties. The MGT and VGT may exaggerate the salience of language varieties, the respondents may not perceive the varieties correctly or they may mistake them for ungrammaticality (Garrett 2010: 57–58). Furthermore, the speaker may mimic one of the varieties less accurately. Garrett (2010: 58) calls this the *mimicking authenticity question*. The second weakness concerns the texts for the guises. They may not be semantically neutral. Their content may influence the respondents' attitudes (ibid: 59). The third weakness concerns the listening test situation. The presence of researchers in the test situation and their spoken varieties may influence the results (*observer's paradox*; Labov 1972). Spontaneous speech may be rated differently from read out passages, especially because one variety may be more suitable for read out speech than the other. Garrett (2010: 59) calls this the *style authenticity question*. Matched- and verbal-guise studies do not observe natural language in its natural environment nor the interlocutors' natural way of judging each other. Bradac et al. (2001: 140–141) criticise them therefore as acontextual. Potter (1998: 259) criticises the use of person perception rating scales and demands to pay more attention to the respondents' heterogeneous evaluative practices. From the perspective of the CAT (see Section 2.5), the main weakness of the MGT and VGT is that they are not interactional. They cannot account for influences of interaction on attitudes. It remains therefore unclear if the results of matched- and verbal-guise studies can be generalised to real communication situations.

The review of the relevant literature reveals a further challenge for matched- and verbal-guise studies. It unveils a contradiction in the functionality of the methods. The MGT and VGT access the respondents' attitudes indirectly. Therefore they are supposed to avoid the social desirability bias, i.e. the respondents' answering what they perceive to be socially appropriate (Garrett 2010: 44–45). While it is clear that the respondents should not realise that the guises are spoken by the same speaker (Lambert et al. 1960: 44), it is not quite clear if the validity of a matched- or verbal-guise study is inevitably impaired when the respondents realise that they are rating different varieties. Lambert et al. (1960: 44) have openly explained to their

respondents that the texts were in two languages, in English and in French, “to give greater scope to the experiment”. Nowadays, however, it is generally held that the respondents should not be aware of the fact that they are rating different varieties (Garrett 2010: 41–42). At the same time, it is viewed as crucial for the validity that the respondents perceive the varieties to be the ones in question (ibid: 57–58). However, as soon as the respondents are conscious about the varieties, they very likely understand that they are in fact rating these different varieties. In this case, the social desirability bias may occur. It is thus unclear if the MGT and VGT are able to uncover the respondents’ true attitudes in every case.

During the past years, different researchers created innovative modifications of the MGT and VGT to address some of the difficulties mentioned above. Leemann et al. (2015) employ decision-making as indicator of the listeners’ attitudes in their study on Swiss and standard German varieties. In their study, the respondents’ choice amongst three guises indicates their variety preference. Rakić et al. (2011: 876–877) have created a mixture of the MGT and VGT by recording six speakers uttering a pair of guises, but showing only one guise of every speaker to the same respondent group. Both Rakić et al. (2011: 872–873) and Leemann et al. (2015) have provided their respondents with a description of the communication context. Niemelä (2016: 25) has used sample pictures of the speakers with one of her respondent groups.

Within the indirect approach, respondents’ attitudes can be measured also by the amount of a heard text they recall (Garrett 2010: 78–79) or by the co-operative behaviour approach by measuring the respondents’ compliance with the different varieties (Garrett 2010: 79–83), e.g. as in Kristiansen’s (1997) study a cinema public’s commitment to fill in questionnaires when begged in different Danish varieties. These approaches have been applied much less than the MGT and VGT until now, however.

2.8.3 Direct approach

In the direct approach, respondents are asked directly about their attitudes, either in an interview or in a questionnaire. Their attitudes are thus consciously elicited (Garrett 2010: 39). This procedure is straightforward, but does not necessarily elicit true privately held and unconscious attitudes (ibid: 42–43). First, peoples’ answers to hypothetical questions of what they would do in a certain situation proved to deviate from what they actually did (ibid: 43). Second, and connected to the first point, direct

methods are generally not able to control the social desirability bias (ibid: 45, 75; see also Subsections 2.6.2 and 2.8.3). Thirdly, the observer's paradox (Labov 1972) is even more likely to occur than in listening tests (Garrett 2010: 45–46). During the past twenty-five years, new innovative approaches have emerged. Hyrkestedt & Kalaja (1998) have studied attitudes to English in Finland within the social constructivist paradigm. In their discourse-analytic study, college students have written a response to a letter to the editor that expressed a negative attitude to English. Hyrkestedt & Kalaja (1998) have extracted the respondents' attitudes from their responses. Gallois et al. (1995: 133–134) has shown videotaped intercultural conversations to judges. Mai & Hoffmann (2011) have let industrial buyers and customers evaluate salespersons after real sales conversations. Niemelä (2016: 19) has employed group discussions. As the classical direct methods, these methods may suffer either from the observer's paradox or the social desirability bias, however. They do not observe natural language in its natural environment nor take into account the interlocutors' interactions. Therefore, their results may neither be generalisable to real communication situations.

2.8.4 Societal treatment approach

The third approach to the study of attitudes to language encompasses societal treatment methods. The present subsection gives only a short account of it. Because the Finnish case study does not employ any societal treatment method, this approach is not presented in more detail here.

Within the societal treatment approach, the society's treatment of language varieties is analysed. A large body of public text as advertisements, letters to the editor, etiquette books, cartoons, or government and educational publications is gathered and searched by means of discourse and text analysis for meanings and stereotypes that are associated with a language within the society (Garrett 2010: 51). Unlike within the direct and indirect approaches, informants are not asked under unnatural conditions and data is not elicited, but natural. The researcher, however, has to infer attitudes from texts. This approach has been therefore criticised as not maximally exact (ibid: 51–52).

The following chapter presents the Finnish case study. It begins with an overview over the language situation, language learning for non-native speakers and the actual discussion on immigration in Finland in order to embed the case study.

3 Finnish case study

3.1 Background information

3.1.1 Language situation in Finland

Finnish is the official language of Finland besides Swedish (Finnish Constitutional Law 1999: §17). Of the nearly 5.5 million inhabitants (2015 census; Official Statistics Finland 2015c), 88.7% indicated Finnish as their native language (Official Statistics Finland 2015b). According to the Finnish Ministry of Justice (2009: 10), additionally over 120 languages are spoken in Finland. These are i.a. Russian, Estonian and Somali, followed by English, Arabic, Kurdish, Chinese, Albanian, Thai and Vietnamese (Official Statistics Finland 2015a). This ranking may have changed since 2015 when nearly ten times more asylum applications were handed in than in 2014, mostly by refugees from the Middle East (European Migration Network 2014: 6; Finnish Immigration Service 2016).

In the Finnish speaking areas, the default means of communication and the main identity bearers are dialects (Mantila 2004; Lappalainen & Vaattovaara 2005; Paunonen 2005: 163–165). In the case of the capital region, it is the spoken language of Helsinki (*Helsingin puhekieli*; Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:puhekieli, own translation). In the capital region, also Helsinki slang is used (Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:Stadin slangi; Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:nykyslangi, own translations). These vernaculars are varieties on their own and vary i.a. according to the place of residence and age of the speakers (Paunonen 2005; Juusela & Nisula 2006; Sorjonen et al. 2015).

The standard variety follows the written language (*kirjakieli*; Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:kirjakieli, own translation) as closely as possible (Paunonen 1995: 18–19; Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 67). Historically, the standard variety was the spoken language of the educated people and used widely in Helsinki (Paunonen 2005: 163–165). It has been replaced by the Helsinki spoken language since the 1970s (Paunonen 2005: 167–168, 192–195; Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 68). Nowadays the standard variety is used (orally) merely in the media and certain official situations (Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 67). It is learnt early on (ibid: 67), but no longer used regularly by the whole population and, especially, by no higher social class.

The vernaculars and the standard variety differ on phonetic-phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical grounds (Kuparinen 2001: 26; Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 67–69). Still, they are not two fully separated registers, but the extremes of a continuum. The registers of the Finnish language are more or less vernacular- or standard-like (Lauranto 1995: 261).

The esteem of dialects has increased during the past years (Institute for the languages of Finland 2017). Especially for the Helsinki variety, however, Palander (2007: 43–46) has found negative attitudes held by respondents from outside the capital region. There is no data on Finnish speakers' general attitudes to the standard variety (Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 69), except for Niemelä's (2016: 78, 89–90, 108) findings suggesting that her respondents perceive the Finnish written language as the true and pure Finnish language. Dialects, vernaculars and non-native Finnish they perceive as subordinate forms. These findings point to a standard language ideology. This ideology may lead native Finnish speakers to prefer standard-like varieties also in non-native speakers. The exact status of the Finnish standard variety is unclear, however (Nuolijärvi & Vaattovaara 2011: 70), and needs further research.

3.1.2 Finnish as a second language

As the main focus of this case study is on non-native speakers who did not grow up in Finland, this subsection concentrates on language learning as an immigrant in Finland.

The Finnish municipalities and the Public Employment and Business Services (*Julkiset Työ- ja Elinkeinopalvelut*) promote immigrants' integration i.a. by organising Finnish language courses (Law on the promotion of integration 2010: §6, §11; Finnish National Agency for Education 2012: 8). In the Helsinki capital region, i.a. numerous institutions as the adult education centres, but also voluntary (lay) teachers offer language courses, and there are different possibilities to learn the language in informal situations, as the language cafés (Helmet Libraries: Finnish Language Café 2017). Non-native speakers are thus likely to encounter different vernaculars and the standard variety in everyday life and adopt the vernaculars either wholly or partially, the latter leading to hybrid varieties (Kuparinen 2001: 13; see also Section 2.3). A majority of non-native Finnish speakers studying the language in a course, in contrast, can be assumed to learn mainly the standard variety (Kuparinen 2001: 7–12; Harjanne & Tella 2007; Harjanne & Tella 2009; for some exceptions cf.

Lauranto 1995), i.e. a variety native speakers would not use as a default means of communication (see Subsection 3.1.1). Lauranto (1995: 262) suspects that this may bring native Finnish speakers to associate the standard variety with non-native Finnish and brand standard speaking non-native speakers as especially non-native. Language teaching influences thus what kind of non-native varieties native speakers encounter and may thereby shape their attitudes. Native Finnish speakers may encounter non-native speakers using a vernacular, a standard-like or a hybrid variety. No data on the actual distribution of non-native Finnish speakers' varieties could be found, however.

3.1.3 Attitudes to non-native Finnish speaking immigrants

Also in Finland, attitudes to language are closely related to stereotypes about social groups (Niemelä 2016: 108; see also Subsection 2.6.3). As this case study focuses on attitudes to non-native varieties in an intercultural communication context, this subsection reviews findings on attitudes to immigrants in Finland.

Immigration into Finland became more visible only after the 1990s, which caused a rise of stereotypes (Puuronen 2006: 42–43). Jaakkola (2005: 19–20; 44–46) has found that in the beginning of the 21st century, Finnish peoples' attitudes to immigrants had become more favourable. According to the CAT, however, the perception of immigrants and their varieties is connected to the native speakers' image of their own in-group and its vitality (see Subsection 2.5.2). Jaakkola (2005: 61–63; 2009: 37–39) shows how economic recession has given rise to negative attitudes in Finland, although to a different degree in different age, sex, educational and local groups, namely less in residents from the Helsinki capital region and highly educated people (Jaakkola 2005: 64–68; 2009: 38–41). The highly increased immigration into Finland during 2015 (see Subsections 3.1.1 and 3.1.3) in combination with the European economy crisis (Parliament of Finland 2013) has in all probability changed attitudes. There is no data yet on the question in what way exactly.

3.2 Selection of the methods

Immigration and also the language learning of immigrants are thus highly actual subjects in Finland at the moment of writing this thesis. As has been pointed out in Subsection 2.6.2, attitudes to non-native variation, assumingly even more when politically debated, are especially prone to the social desirability bias. Therefore,

only the two approaches of the language attitude paradigm that may avoid this bias (see Subsections 2.8.2 and 2.8.4), the indirect and the societal treatment approach, suit this case study. As has been pointed out in Section 1.2, the case study employs a combined matched- and verbal-guise and questionnaire design. When selecting the methods for the study, the indirect approach has been preferred to the societal treatment approach due to feasibility. The author of this thesis considered herself not yet familiar enough with the Finnish media landscape to do justice to a study within the societal treatment approach. The often applied matched- and verbal-guise technique has been selected in order to test its functionality and suitability for the study of attitudes to non-native variation. In order to gain deeper insights into their attitudes to the non-native varieties, the respondents are given the possibility to justify their speaker choices in a free-form statement during the listening test. The use of precast categories is avoided in order to gather most natural and diversified attitudes and to meet Potter's (1998: 259) call to take into account more heterogeneous evaluative practices. Furthermore, due to voluntary justification, the comments are expected to be less biased by social desirability. The direct question approach is employed to allow a methodical comparison of a direct and an indirect method.

This study combines thus qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis that complement one another. However, the adopted approaches do not examine natural language in a natural communication situation nor take into account the interaction between the interlocutors. Their results may therefore not be generalisable to real-life communication situations.

3.3 Listening test

3.3.1 Research design

The listening test consists of three scenarios representing three communication situations (group presentation, searching for a flatmate and job interview), with two non-native and two native speakers (female and male) speaking in one or two of the scenarios, always uttering a guise in the vernacular and the other in the standard variety (for the scenarios and the guises as used in the main study, see Appendix B). The respondents receive a handout with the instructions that they are going to hear different speakers in three different scenarios, namely, two speakers in part A of each scenario, from which they have to choose either one, and two speakers in part B of

each scenario, from which they have to choose either one. The respondents are instructed to familiarise with the scenarios, to imagine hearing the speakers on the phone, to mark their choice on the handout, and to justify their choice on two blank lines during a silent break of 30 seconds (for an example of the handout, see Appendix D). Each pair of speakers they hear are in fact turns recorded by the same speaker, one in the vernacular (VER), the other in the standard variety (STD), and are thus guises (see Subsection 3.3.2). In each scenario, the respondents hear non-native as well as native guises, either in part A or B. As playing 24 guises (2 varieties x 3 situations x 4 speakers) could have easily resulted in recognition of the voices, and fatigue effects in the respondents (Garrett 2010: 61), only a selection of guises is played to different groups of respondents as in the study by Rakić et al. (2011). For every new group of respondents (totally six; see Appendix E), either the pair of female speakers or the pair of male speakers is chosen randomly for the first and third scenario. The opposite pair is chosen for the middle scenario. The respondents hear thus the same voice at most four times. The guises, the scenarios and the non-native and native speakers appear in randomised order. To separate the scenarios and speakers from each other, a female native Finnish speaker was recorded saying the number of the scenario and the speaker, i.e. ‘first situation, part A, first speaker’ (*ensimmäinen tilanne, osa A, ensimmäinen puhuja*), whereby ordinal numbers were preferred over cardinals, as only they are the same in the targeted varieties (see the vernacular and standard form for ‘one’ *yks ~ yksi*) (on ‘buffering voices’, see also Garrett 2010: 61). The respondents are not told that the speakers will employ different varieties, as this may impair the results (see Subsection 2.8.2). A question in the questionnaire elicits if the respondents have been conscious about the fact that they were rating different varieties (see Section 3.4 and Section 3.7).

3.3.2 Varieties

As this study seeks to contrast attitudes to more vernacular-like and more standard-like non-native varieties and in order to keep the varieties clearly distinguishable, guises are created in only two varieties, but not in a hybrid variety.⁸ For the standard

⁸ In addition, hybrid guises are also excluded for the favour of more scenarios and to in order to avoid fatigue effects in the respondents (Garrett 2010: 61). Without data about the linguistic features non-native speakers’ hybrid varieties actually include it is impossible to create natural hybrid guises. Furthermore, it is unclear if native speakers would still have been able to perceive and remember three

guises, the standard variety orientating on the written language as used in the media, and often in Finnish as a second language classes, is targeted (*standardi*, Nuolijärvi & Sorjonen 2010 [2005]: 16; or *yleiskieli*, i.e. general language, see Tieteen termipankki: Kielitiede:yleiskieli, own translation). Features associated nowadays virtually exclusively with the written language as the possessive suffixes (Matti Miestamo, p.c., 3.11.2015; Hanna Lappalainen, p.c., 16.11.2015 when creating the guises) are not included, however, in order to avoid overstated salience (Garrett 2010: 57). For the vernacular guises, a general vernacular from Southern Finland is targeted (*eteläsuomalainen puhekieli*, Nuolijärvi & Sorjonen 2010 [2005]: 17). Helsinki spoken language⁹ or even slang is not targeted in order to avoid possible negative attitudes against the latter varieties in respondents originally from outside the capital region (see Subsection 3.1.1).

The features common to all the Finnish vernaculars listed by Mielikäinen (1982: 280–287) and Paunonen (2005: 165–167) have served as the basis to form the guises. Although the varieties differ by several linguistic features (see Subsection 3.1.1), the guises have been created to differ only in morphological and morpho-syntactical terms. Lexical differences as the more formal *hei* or the more informal *moi* in the direct address are considered too salient. Phonetical assimilation in speaking happens in both varieties (for an overview on the included linguistic features, see Appendix C).

3.3.3 Scenarios

In the listening test, the varieties are presented to the respondents in different scenarios. Each scenario represents a certain communication situation. This allows determining a possible influence of the communication situation on the respondents' preference. The listening test contains the following scenarios: choosing a fellow student for a group presentation at the University of Helsinki, choosing a flatmate for a shared flat and choosing an applicant for an internship position in a job interview.

The three scenarios differ in their topic of conversation, related norms and assumingly also in the ideologies related to them (see Subsections 2.5.5, 2.6.1 and

only slightly differing non-native guises correctly. It has to be kept in mind, however, that the exclusion of hybrid varieties may affect the results (ibid: 102).

⁹ The vernacular guise of the job interview scenario contains some rather typical Helsinkian features (see Appendices A and B). Its validity is tested in a preliminary analysis (see Section 3.6).

2.6.4). The scenarios have in common that the speakers address the respondents and beg for participation of some sort. In the case of the non-native speakers, the respondents are listening to out-group members in terms of the CAT (see Subsection 2.5.2). As the degree of convergence increases with the need for approval (see Subsection 2.5.1), the respondents can be expected to perceive the non-native speakers to try to converge according to their language proficiency, regardless of which variety they employ. In the case of the native speakers, the respondents are listening to in-group members in terms of the CAT (see Subsection 2.5.2). Native speakers are able to employ both varieties. Therefore, the respondents can be expected to perceive the native speakers to either converge or diverge, depending on what variety the respondents themselves would employ. Still, in both cases the respondents can be expected to choose the guise they actually prefer, as a choice has to be made.

These scenarios are chosen because the respondents of this case study, university students, can be expected to have experience with all the corresponding communication situations. The job interview is in addition already thoroughly researched, which allows comparison with other results (Garrett 2010: 136–140).

3.3.4 Texts and guises

In the style of Leemann et al. (2015), one text in the two varieties per scenario has been developed (for the development of the texts, see Appendix A; for the definitive guises, see Appendix B).¹⁰ The texts represent most natural turns in the corresponding scenarios. In order to avoid influences on attitudes, they are semantically most possibly neutral, equally polite, lexically equally diverse, and contain no lexically provenant words (see also Subsection 2.6.1). Striving for these goals, equal syntactic complexity could not be achieved, however (see Appendix C). The text contents are created to suit both female and male speakers (see Subsection 3.3.7 and Appendix A). Recordings of natural speech samples would have represented actual speech more realistically, avoided the style authenticity problem (see Subsection 2.8.2) and improved the generalisability. No semantically close enough samples by native and non-native speakers with non-recognisable first

¹⁰ The author thanks Matti Miestamo and Hanna Lappalainen for their input on constructing the guises and Adrian Leemann for his input on the research design as well as the accent rating tests.

language accent in the two targeted varieties could be found. Guises uncontrolled for these features would deliver invalid results, however.

3.3.5 Speakers

As speakers have served two non-native speakers, a female speaker from Czech Republic (first language: Czech), and a male speaker from Brazil (first language: Brazilian Portuguese), and two native speakers, a female speaker from Middle Finland, and a male speaker from the capital region, all (former) university students, and aged between 25 and 35.¹¹ This allows comparing the respondents' preferences of native and non-native varieties. Moreover, as Piske et al. (2001: 193) point out, including native speakers' turns in an accented speech rating study ensures that native speaking respondents are able to distinguish non-native from native speech.

As (former) group rivalry and the general political context may influence interlocutors' attitudes in intercultural encounters (see Subsections 2.5.5 and 2.6.1), and recognisable first language accents (see Section 2.3 and Subsection 2.8.2) may activate respondents' stereotypes, the non-native speakers have been chosen from other than the major immigrant groups in Finland (see Subsection 3.1.1). The listening test method aims at controlling a range of influencing speakers' features as physical appearance, social class and age by unveiling only the speakers' voices (see Subsection 2.8.2). All scenarios are constructed to demand as speakers young, academic adults. To balance the sex/gender variable, both female and male speakers are included (see also Garrett 2010: 63; Rakić et al. 2011: 872). As the degree of (perceived) proficiency, i.e. the degree of accent and fluency/intelligibility may influence native speakers' attitudes to non-native variation (see Section 2.3 and Subsections 2.5.4 and 2.7), both non-native speakers are equally proficient. They have reached at least C1-level according to the CEFR (Council of Europe, Language Policy Unit; see University of Helsinki Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies 2017). Most importantly, however, they have been judged as equally intelligible and have been recognised as non-native in the pilot study (see Subsection 3.3.7).

¹¹ The author thanks Hanna Lappalainen for her help with recruiting the speakers, all seven speakers for their readiness to help with the recordings and their inputs concerning the texts.

3.3.6 Recording and editing of the texts

The guises have been recorded in two sessions on 2 February 2016 (non-native male speaker) and on 8 February 2016 (native male speaker, and female speakers) at the learning centre Aleksandria of the University of Helsinki¹². The speakers have been instructed to speak at the same rate, with the same pitch, intonation and emotion (see Subsections 2.6.1 and 2.8.2). This has been difficult for some of the speakers, however, and several recordings have been necessary to reach constant features. Two of the recording sessions lasted nearly two hours. An Olympus VN-5500PC with a sample rate of 13.000 Hz has served as a recorder. All the stimuli have been normalised in amplitude using the standard normalising function of the programme *Audacity* developed by the Audacity Team (see Audacity Team).

3.3.7 Pilot studies and adaptations of the research design

The functionality of the listening test and the preliminary guises have been tested in three pilot studies. The guises tested in the different pilot studies and their adaptations can be found in Appendix A.

Two of the pilot studies have been conducted in university courses, the first on two dates, 30 November and 1 December 2015 with a total of 8 native listeners, and the second on 4 February 2016 with a total of 4 native listeners¹³. The third study had to be conducted informally with only two native listeners on 8 February 2016 because of time restrictions. The outcomes of the pilot studies have resulted in the selection of new speakers and in major adaptations of the research design and the texts for the guises.

The first pilot study tested the original research design containing only the guises of one non-native speaker. The respondents did not recognise the female non-native Finnish speaker originally from Poland as a non-native speaker at all, i.e. the varieties were not recognised as the ones intended. The speaker had to be exchanged, therefore. Most of the respondents realised that the guises were spoken by one and the same speaker. To avoid this problem, the research design has been adapted to

¹² The author thanks Eija Aho for the microphones and the hints for improving the recordings.

¹³ The author thanks Matti Miestamo, Eija Aho and Antti Kanner for offering the opportunity to conduct the pilot studies in their university courses, the participants of the pilot studies for their help, Hanna Lappalainen for offering the opportunity to discuss the study in the Reading Circle of Sociolinguistics (*Sosiolingvistiikan lukupiiri*) and its participants for their constructive criticism.

include two non-native speakers. The respondents reported intelligibility problems with the text of the shared flat scenario. The text has been changed as shown by Table 1:

<i>Table 1: Changes made to the text of the shared flat scenario after the first pilot study.</i>		
Version	Variety	Text
before	Original Finnish VER	Me voidaa päättää tarkast muuttopäiväst, ku sun kaverit on ilmottanu, millon ne muuttaa pois.
	Original Finnish STD	Me voimme päättää tarkasta muuttopäivästä, kun kaverisi ovat ilmoittaneet, milloin he muuttavat pois.
	English translation	We can decide on the precise date of moving as soon as your friends have let you know when they are going to move out.
after	Original Finnish VER	Mä voin tulla vaik käymää, sit ku sun kaverit on muuttanu pois, ni me voidaa sopii, miten me jaetaa kotityöt.
	Original Finnish STD	Minä voin tulla vaikka käymään, sitten kun kaverisi ovat muuttaneet pois, niin voimme sopia, miten jaamme kotityöt.
	English translation	I could come around when your friends have moved out, then we can decide how we divide the housework.

According to the respondents, the job interview vernacular guise sounded too “Helsinki-like” to rate it neutrally. This impression may be based on the following three linguistic features (for the guise see Table 2 below):

1. the -A-apocope in *kokemust tält alalt* (standard *kokemusta tältä alalta*) (Paunonen 2005: 166), according to Mielikäinen (1982: 286–287) a typical Southern Finnish variant, that spread mostly in cities, and amongst students;

2. the short representation of the 3rd infinitive illative form *ottaa* (standard *ottamaan*) (Paunonen 2005: 167), according to Mielikäinen (1982: 286) originally a typical dialect feature from Tavastia, that has spread in the Helsinki capital region since the 1990s (Paunonen 2005: 193, 195); and
3. the representation of the *-iA*-endings as *-ii* in *uusii tehtävii* (standard *uusia tehtäviä*) (Paunonen 2005: 166), according to Mielikäinen (1982: 286–287) a typical Southern Finnish variant, that spread mostly in cities and amongst students.

The guise has been changed as shown by Table 2, partly using the standard variants, partly avoiding the features in question:

<i>Table 2: Changes made to the vernacular guise of the job interview scenario after the first pilot study.</i>		
Version	Variety	Text
before	Original Finnish VER	Mullon viis vuotta kokemust tältä alalt, mut mä oisin kyl valmis ottaan myös uusii tehtävii vastaa.
	English translation	I have five years of work experience in this field, but I would naturally be ready to perform also other tasks.
after	Original Finnish VER	Mullon viis vuotta kokemusta tältä alalta ja mä voisin alottaa heti.
	English translation	I have five years of work experience in this field and I could start as soon as possible.

This change has the additional advantage to avoid the phrase *to perform tasks* which sounds formal and would have therefore suited the standard guise better than the vernacular guise. Some respondents reported that it felt awkward to choose amongst the speakers while not seeing them. Therefore, the hint has been added in the handout that respondents may imagine hearing the speakers on the phone, as Lambert et al. (1960: 44) have done (for an example of the handout, see Appendix A).

A non-native male speaker from Brazil and a native male speaker from Eastern Finland have been recruited as new speakers. A male native speaker who

counterchecked the revised texts pointed out the unsuitability of the group presentation text for male speakers (*It would be nice to give the presentation together.*). Therefore, also this text has been adapted (*We can give the presentation together.*)

The respondents of the second pilot study perceived the guises of the non-native speaker authentically as non-native and rated them as equally accented (with a maximal difference of 1.25 points on the 10-point scale from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning nearly no accent and 10 a very strong accent). The respondents perceived the difference in accentedness between the vernacular and the standard guise to be the smallest in the job interview scenario (mean=1.0, standard deviation=0) and in the group presentation scenario (mean=1.0, standard deviation=0.71), but only slightly bigger in the shared flat scenario (mean=1.25, standard deviation=1.64). The respondents did not guess the speaker's country of origin except for one who guessed Russia. The respondents reported the recordings of the non-native speaker to be intelligible. As a first major problem, however, three respondents had problems to understand the male native speaker, most probably because of his idiolectal way of speaking fast. The speaker had to be exchanged, thus. As a second major problem, the new job interview guises were not different enough anymore. Some of the respondents refused to decide between them. Because of time restriction, no new texts could be developed. Therefore, the -A-apocope as a feature for the vernacular guise has been reincluded. This guise may therefore sound too much of Helsinki spoken language and may activate antipathy in respondents from outside the Helsinki capital region. The results are therefore tested for a corresponding influence (see Section 3.6). As also all respondents still realised the pairs of guises being spoken by the same speaker, the research design has been expanded again to include now four speakers. In order to balance male and female voices, two female speakers have been recruited.

The recruitment proved to be difficult. Only the day before the first conduct of the main study, the guises could be recorded again. Because of time restrictions, the new male native speaker's and the two female speakers' guises have been tested only in an informal format by playing them to two native Finnish speaking friends of the author of this thesis. These two native speakers have rated the guises as intelligible and authentic and the non-native guises as equally accented. Therefore, the guises are used in the main study (for the definitive guises, see Appendix B).

3.4 Questionnaire

The questionnaire contains the direct question and the validity test (for an example of the handout containing the questionnaire, see Appendix D). The questionnaire is handed to the respondents after the listening test. The direct question elicits the respondents' non-native variety preferences directly. It asks the respondents to give their opinion what variety a non-native speaker should employ best. In order to determine the validity of a matched-guise study, it is crucial to know if the respondents have recognised the varieties during the listening test and if they have realised that the matched guises have been uttered by the same speaker (see also Subsection 2.8.2). The questionnaire includes therefore also two questions addressing these issues. However, only after the conduct of the case study the author has realised that the questions contained presuppositions. Instead of asking neutrally, the questions have asked directly if the respondents realised that one guise was in the vernacular and the other in the standard variety and that the matched guises were spoken by the same speaker (see Appendix D), presupposing this being the case and leading the respondents to affirm. Because of this unfortunate formulation of the questions, the validity of this study can be tested only to a limited degree (see Section 3.7).

The questionnaire collects further the following respondents' social background variables: age, gender¹⁴, major at the university and/or occupation, first language(s), language(s) used in daily life, place of growing up in Finland, language learning history, international experiences operationalised as a stay abroad (place and duration), the frequency of contact with non-native speakers and the varieties used by those (see also Subsection 2.6.1). The background variables are tested for possible influences on the results in preliminary analyses (see Section 3.6).

¹⁴ The study strived to collect the social variable *gender* and not the biological variable *sex* by asking explicitly for the respondents' gender identity (*sukupuoli-identiteetti*), as already Eckert (1989: 246–248) pointed out that it is the social attributions, i.e. the gender role of a respondent that matters for sociolinguistics.

3.5 Conduct of the study

3.5.1 Procedure and data collection

The original aim was to test a random sample of at least 100 students from different faculties of the University of Helsinki. However, gathering a random sample of respondents has proved to be impossible because of privacy protection reasons. Therefore, the study is based on a non-random sample of respondents. It has been conducted with six groups of a total of 101 native Finnish speaking respondents¹⁵ in university courses, university language courses and in the library of the University of Helsinki following a call to participate in the study sent to the subject associations of the faculty of arts that provided open e-mail distribution (for the six groups of respondents, see Appendix E). Because the sample of respondents of this study is non-random, the results presented below cannot be generalised to all the students from the University of Helsinki.

The study has been conducted in the respective class rooms at the University of Helsinki and the University of Helsinki main library building.¹⁶ It has been introduced as a listening test for the author's master's thesis. All the targeted varieties have been activated in the respondents, as the language employed in the study influences its results (see Subsection 2.6.1). The oral instructions before the test have been given in a non-native vernacular and during the test in a native neutral variety. The handout is written in the standard written language (see Subsection 3.3.1). All groups of respondents have been presented with the guises over the sound system of the respective class rooms (Windows Media Player on the computer and loudspeakers). The study has lasted on average 25 minutes (explanations and test 10–15 minutes, filling in the questionnaire, debriefing and thanking 10–15 minutes). With some groups, possible sources of irritation have occurred (background noises, voices from outside the room as well as technical problems with the sound system), but did not seem to hinder the respondents' answering, as all choices have been marked and all questions answered.

¹⁵ The author thanks all the respondents for their participation. Special thanks go to the respondents who took a special interest in the study for their valuable discussions and hints for further reading.

¹⁶ The author thanks the lecturers of the respective courses, Seppo Kittilä, Hanna Lappalainen and Suvi Punkkinen for their readiness to help.

3.5.2 Respondents

All the respondents are regular students at the University of Helsinki, of which 72% study in a linguistic and 28% in a non-linguistic programme (NA=1).¹⁷ They are mainly young adults with their age ranging between 18 and 53 years with a mean of 26.2 years and a median of 23 years (NA=2). 2% indicated their gender as *other*, 23.8% as *male* and 74.2% as *female*. The sample of respondents is relatively balanced in terms of their place of growing up in Finland and therefore also of their dialectal background, which proved to influence language attitudes (see Subsections 2.6.1 and 2.7.2). Respondents from all the 19 regions (*maakunta*) of Finland have participated, except from Tavastia Proper (*Kanta-Häme*) and the Åland Islands (*Åhvenanmaa*). 50% of the respondents are from the capital region and 50% from outside the capital region (NA=1). Only few respondents have indicated an occupation. Therefore, this variable is not considered further here. The respondents' language proficiency in numbers of languages they have learnt (other than their native language) ranges between 1 and 10 (n=101; mean=3.5; median=3). 62% of the respondents have reported to use only one language in daily life, 33% two and 5% three (NA=1), whereby these numbers indicate at least roughly which respondents perceive themselves as basically monolingual, or bi- and multilingual in daily life. 36.6% of the respondents have reported to have stayed abroad between 0.5 and 7 years (0.5 year: 10.9%; 1 year: 14.9%; 1.5 years or more: 10.9%). The places vary greatly and are not considered further. The respondents have indicated the frequency of their contact with non-native speakers in a free form. Their answers have been read through and arranged into the following seven categories: daily: 10.2%, weekly: 23.5%, often: 8.2%, monthly: 4.1%, sometimes: 9.2%, seldom: 37.7%, no: 7.1% (NA=3). 27.4% of the respondents who keep at least some contact with non-native speakers have reported the non-native speakers to use a vernacular-like variety, 34.5% a standard-like variety and 38.1% a hybrid variety (NA=10; not applicable because of no contact =7). The following section discusses the possible effects of these variables on the results of this case study.

¹⁷ The linguistic programmes encompass general linguistics, language technology, logopedics, philologies, phonetics, and translation studies; the non-linguistic programmes encompass Asian studies, astronomy, developing countries studies, economics, forestry, Latin American studies, law, general and Finnish literature, medicine, music science, pedagogics, special and early childhood pedagogics, theater science, and theology.

3.6 Preliminary analyses

The respondents' background variables are tested for possible effects in preliminary analyses (chi-square test). The tables with the test results including the exact p-values from the chi-square tests can be found in Appendix F. The analyses show that the following variables have no effect: respondents' gender, age (relatively homogenous here), major at the university (divided into the two factors of *linguistic subjects* and *non-linguistic subjects*), the numbers of languages used in daily life (divided into the two factors *one language* and *two or three languages*), the respondents' language learning history (divided into the factors *1 language*, *2 languages*, *3 languages*, *4 languages* and *5 or more languages*), the frequency of contact with non-native speakers (divided into the two factors *often* and *not often*) and the varieties used by these non-native speakers as an indicator for the respondents' experiences (divided into three factors *vernacular*, *standard variety* and *hybrid varieties*). The data is thus collapsed across all these variables for the main analyses. A further analysis shows that respondents have not chosen significantly differently between the female voice and male voice guises in the case of both non-native and native speakers. Therefore, also the results for male and female voices are collapsed.

Only two variables show partial effects. The variable *place of growing up in Finland* (divided into the two factors *from the Helsinki capital region* and *not from the Helsinki capital region*) does not have any effect in the case of native speakers and neither in the case of the job interview and the shared flat scenario in the case of non-native speakers. In the group presentation scenario, however, the respondents from outside the capital region have chosen significantly more often the non-native vernacular speaker than the respondents from the capital region ($X^2=4.96$, $df=1$; $p<0.05$). That there is no effect in the job interview scenario shows that the possibly too typical Helsinki spoken language features in the vernacular guise of this scenario did not bias the results (see Subsection 3.3.3). The variable *international experience* operationalised as a stay abroad (divided into the two factors *stayed abroad* and *not stayed abroad*) has no significant effect in the case of non-native speakers again in the job interview and the shared flat scenario, but in the group presentation scenario ($X^2=3.991$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$). The respondents who have stayed abroad have chosen more often the standard speaker than the respondents who have not stayed abroad. In the case of the native speakers, there is no effect in any of the scenarios per se, but overall ($X^2=4.353$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$). Of the respondents who have stayed abroad,

43.3% have chosen the standard speaker, but only 24% of the respondents who have not stayed abroad.

Their place of origin within Finland and international experience seem thus to influence native Finnish speaking students' variety preference in some way (see also Leinonen 2015: 126–128, and Subsection 2.7.2). As the variables do not affect all scenarios, the results are collapsed also across these variables for the main analyses.

Based on the respondents' informal comments in the listening test, the majority of the respondents have perceived the guises correctly. Seven students have mistaken non-native speakers for native speakers or have not been sure about the non-nativeness of their speech, as Table 3 shows:

<i>Table 3: Comments on the non-native speakers' nativeness in the listening test.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
ajattelisin, että helpompi pitää hänen kanssaan, kun äidinkieli suomi	I would think it's easier with her/him, because the native language [is] Finnish
Samaa kieltä äidinkielenä puhuva tuntuu läheisemmältä.	A person who speaks the same mother tongue feels closer.
Toinen kuulostaa ulkomaalaiselta ja liian viralliselta.	The second sounds like a foreigner and too official.
koska ulkomaalainen	because foreigner
helpompi valita syntyperäiseltä suomalaiselta kuulostva	easier to choose a person who sounds like a native Finn
Ulkomaalaistaustaisella (?) voi olla hyviä ideoita ainakin kieliaineissa.	A person with a foreign origin (?) could have good ideas at least in a language subject.
puhujaa todennäköisesti ulkomaalainen	the speaker [is] most likely a foreigner

Five students have not understood one of the non-native speakers properly, as Table 4 shows:

<i>Table 4: Comments on the non-native speakers' intelligibility in the listening test.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
Ensimmäisestä ei saanut selvää.	The first was not comprehensible.
Puheesta saa paremmin selvää.	The speech was easier to understand.
helpompi ymmärtää	easier to understand
ekassa pätkässä vaikea saada parista sanasta selvää	difficult to make out some of the words in the first turn
Toisen puhujan puheesta ei saanut aina selvää.	The second speaker's speech was not always comprehensible.

Eleven students have justified their choices on the basis of the speakers' prosodics, two of them on the basis of the rate of speaking with the standard variety, as Table 5 shows:

<i>Table 5: Comments on the non-native speakers' prosodics in the listening test.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
Toisessa ärsytti narina.	In the second, the creaky voice was annoying.
ei-nasaalinen puhe	no-nasal speech

helpompi ymmärtää, selkeämmät konsonantit, tauot	easier to understand, clearer consonants, pauses
Eka mumisi.	The first one mumbled.
parempi äänenkäyttö	better usage of the voice
rytmi äänessä	the rhythm in the voice
vakuuttavampi intonaatio	more convincing intonation
Monotoninen ääni häiritsi molemmissa.	The monotonous voice disturbed in both.
puhui lujemmalla ja itsevarmemmalla äänellä, mikä antaa kuvan tehokkuudesta	talked with a louder and more self-assured voice, which gives the impression of efficiency
hitaampi	slower [on the standard variety]
hitaammin puhuttu	slowlier spoken [on the standard variety]

The latter problem is difficult to avoid, as the standard variety is morphologically more complex (see Subsection 2.8.2). No phonetical tests have been made to decide if the prosodics are measurably different or only perceived to be different.

3.7 Validity test

The validity test indicates that the majority of the respondents have realised that one guise of each pair has been in the vernacular and the other in the standard variety (86.1%) and that the matched guises have been uttered by the same speaker (61.4%). Only 9.9% of the respondents have not realised either. Depending on which of the conditions should be fulfilled to guarantee the validity of the MGT (see Subsection 2.8.2), only 9.9%, 13.9%, or 37.6% of the answers can be considered valid. The results of the validity test may overstate the facts, however. As has been pointed out in

Subsection 3.4, the validity test questions in the questionnaire contain presuppositions. However, one respondent's spontaneous comment written on the handout during the listening test supports the validity test results. A respondent who has chosen the standard guise of a native speaker in the group presentation situation has commented: "I am even a bit ashamed of my own answers, because no one speaks like this in real life, but it brings about such a secure feeling!" (own translation of the comment: "Vähän jopa hävettää omat vastaukset, koska kukaan ei puhu näin oikeassa elämässä, mutta tulee sellainen varma olo!"). This comment suggests that in the case of variety recognition, social desirability issues may indeed be at work. Other respondents may not have admitted their uneasiness, but simply chosen what they perceived to be appropriate according to the current social discourse. Some of the respondents have expressed as well their feeling of unfairness to judge a person only by her or his voice. One respondent has commented: "Of course I would actually not make choices on the basis of word forms!" (own translation of the comment: "Oikeasti en tietenkään tekisi valintoja sanamuotojen perusteella!"). This suggests that at least some of the respondents have been conscious about the fact that the listening test has been only a test situation. These restrictions concerning the validity of the results have to be kept in mind when reading the following section presenting the main results of the case study.

3.8 Results of the study

3.8.1 Preferences of the non-native vernacular and standard variety

The following subsections present the results of the Finnish case study. The tables with the results of the listening test including the exact p-values of the chi-square tests, from the direct question as well as from the methodical comparison can be found in Appendix G. The justifications given by the respondents for their speaker choices in the listening test (in Finnish) can be found in Appendix H. The categorisation of the respondents' justifications (in English) that has served as a basis for the following analyses can be found in Appendix I.

In the listening test, no significant preference for either of the non-native varieties has emerged. 52.8% of the respondents have chosen the non-native vernacular guise and 47.2% the standard guise (n=101). From the answers to the direct question, four different preferences of non-native variety usage have emerged (n=95; NA=6). 43.2% of the respondents have stated that non-native speakers should

be allowed to use both varieties without restrictions, just as they like or are able to. 32.6% have stated that it would be best for non-native speakers to acquire both varieties and use them as native speakers do. 22.1% have expressed the opinion that it is most important for non-native speakers to know the vernacular. They have stated that they accept a non-native speaker's vernacular in all communication situations. Only 2.1% of the respondents have stated that non-native speakers should use consistently the standard variety.

As answers to a direct question, these results are most likely biased to some degree either by social desirability or by the fact that respondents are not conscious about what they actually would do (see Subsection 2.8.3). The discussion of the study results (Section 3.7) does therefore not draw upon them directly. The results are used, however, for the methodical comparison in the following subsection.

3.8.2 Methodical comparison

The methodical comparison has proved to be possible only to a limited degree. Only the answers of the respondents who have indicated a preference for either the vernacular or the standard variety in the direct question can be meaningfully compared to their choices in the listening test. The group of two respondents who has indicated to prefer the non-native standard variety is too small for meaningful calculations, however. Therefore, only the answers of the 21 respondents who have indicated a preference for the non-native vernacular in the direct question are compared here to their choices in the listening test (for the full results of the methodical comparison, see Appendix G). As Table 6 shows, these respondents have not chosen consequently the non-native vernacular speaker. In terms of percent, they have chosen even less often the vernacular speaker than the standard speaker in every scenario and overall:

<i>Table 6: Methodical comparison (vernacular preference; percentage numbers; total of respondents: n=21).</i>			
Scenario	Method	VER (%)	STD (%)
Pres	direct question	100	0

	listening test	38.1	61.6
Flat	direct question	100	0
	listening test	42.9	57.1
Job	direct question	100	0
	listening test	47.6	52.4
Overall	direct question	100	0
	listening test	42.9	57.1

This comparison – although limited – shows that the results gained by the two different methods do not match in this study, as has been expected (see Section 1.2). This finding is in line with earlier research (Garrett 2010: 24–25; Subsection 2.8.3).

3.8.3 Attitudes to the non-native vernacular and standard variety

The respondents' justifications for their speaker choices in the listening test, i.e. the reasons that they have indicated for choosing a certain speaker, reflect their attitudes to the speaker's variety (for the justifications given by the respondents, see Appendix H). As providing a justification has been voluntary, the numbers of justifications for each scenario vary, as Table 7 shows:

<i>Table 7: Number of respondents (%) who provided a justification for their choice of a non-native or a native speaker.</i>				
Scenario	Pres	Flat	Job	Overall
Number of respondents who justified their choice of a non-native speaker (%)	55.4	44.6	63.4	54.5

Number of respondents who justified their choice of a native speaker (%)	70.3	75.2	69.3	71.6
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Fewer respondents have commented on non-native speakers than on native speakers. Especially few have provided a justification for their choices in the non-native shared flat scenario. Some respondents have given several justifications for one choice. For example, they have described a vernacular speaker as both more natural and more relaxed. These comments are listed separately in the following. The numbers of justifications show thus how often a certain perceived speaker's trait has been mentioned. Many respondents have recognised the varieties as vernacular- and standard-like and have described them simply as better (*parempi*) or more suitable (*sopivampi*) for the situation. These justifications are arranged into a separate group (*register is better/more suitable*). Two of these comments give an insight into how the exact contents of the texts, in this case their wording, are deciding for attitude formation. One respondent has chosen the standard speaker in the job interview scenario, because it is "better to use the word *minä* [1SG; standard form] instead of the word *mä* [1SG; vernacular form]" (own translation of the comment: "parempi käyttää *minä*-sanaa käyttö *mä*-sanon sijaan"). Another respondent has chosen the vernacular speaker, however, because "*mulla on* [I have; vernacular form] sounds more natural than *minulla on* [I have; standard form]" (own translation of the comment: "*mulla on* kuulostaa luontevamalta kuin *minulla on*"). The respondents' further justifications are discussed below.

The respondents have given the following reasons for choosing either a non-native vernacular or a non-native standard speaker overall, i.e. merged for all the scenarios, with the number of mentions given in brackets (only reasons named at least twice; for the categorisation of the respondents' justifications that served as a basis for the analyses below, see Appendix I):

Table 8: Reasons for choosing a non-native vernacular or non-native standard speaker (overall).

Variety	Non-native vernacular	Non-native standard
Traits	natural (21) relaxed/not stiff/not forced (16) enthusiastic/eager/interested (10) authentic/not pretending (9) clear (9) close (7) better language proficiency (7) easier to approach/less distancing (5) nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (5) normal/less strange/less frightening (4) brisk (4) familiar/intimate (3) trustworthy (3) (self-)confident/not shy (2) register is better/more suitable (3)	nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (16) clear (13) ¹⁸ better language proficiency (5) calm/ slowly spoken (5) business-like/factual (3) (self-)confident/not shy (3) enthusiastic/eager/interested (3) serious/ready (3) correct (3) foreigner-like (3) not aggressive (2) expert (2) register is better/more suitable (8)

The respondents have attributed thus some traits only to the non-native vernacular, some traits only to the non-native standard variety and some traits to both varieties. In order to illustrate the distribution of the traits, a figure has been created with the programme *Palladio* (Humanities + Design, Stanford University). The programme has originally been designed for visualising complex historical data. Its *Graph view* - function suits also the visualisation of data without a time dimension, however. It allows visualising the relationships between dimensions of the data, for example the relationships between several dependent variables, as language attitude traits, attributed to the independent variables, the language varieties. Figure 1 illustrates what traits the respondents have attributed to both, the non-native vernacular (Nonnat VER) and the non-native standard variety (Nonnat STD), and what traits only to either of the varieties. The traits that have been attributed to only one of the varieties are connected with one line to the dark-grey dot representing the variety they belong

¹⁸ The attribute *clear* forms a separate category here and is not merged with *better language proficiency* because it was mentioned also in connection with native standard speakers.

to (Nonnat VER or Nonnat STD). The traits that have been attributed to both varieties are connected to both dark-grey dots.

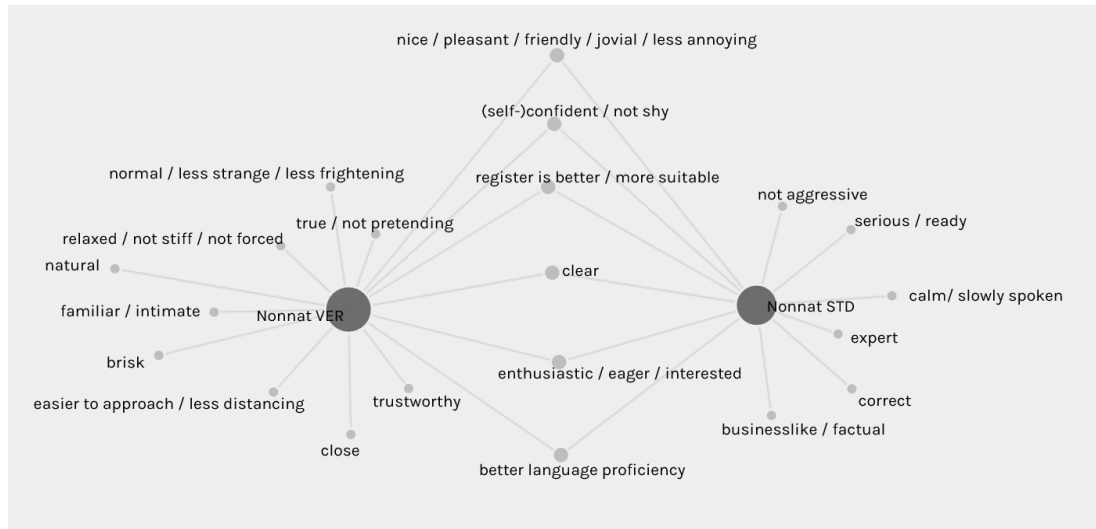


Figure 1: Traits attributed to the non-native vernacular (Nonnat VER) only, to the non-native standard (Nonnat STD) only and to both of the varieties (created with Palladio).

Figure 1 shows that the nine traits *natural* and *relaxed/not stiff/not forced*, *authentic/not pretending*, *normal/less strange/less frightening*, *familiar/intimate*, *close*, *easier to approach/less distancing*, *brisk* and *trustworthy* have been attributed to vernacular speakers only. As emerges from Table 8, the first three of these traits are (amongst) the traits mentioned most. The four traits *calm/slowly spoken*, *business-like/factual*, *correct* and *expert* have been attributed only to standard speakers. Three of these traits are related to professionalism. These findings are in line with findings of earlier research according to which the standard varieties are often associated with professionalism (see Subsection 2.6.1). In this study, however, the professionalism traits associated with the non-native standard are not amongst the most mentioned traits. The traits attributed mostly to standard speakers are the traits *nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying* and *clear*. They are also attributed to the vernacular speakers, in the case of *clear* even nearly as often. Better language proficiency is nearly equally often attributed to both vernacular and standard speakers.

Some respondents have explained (as well) why they have not chosen a speaker. Table 9 shows the reasons for this, again overall:

<i>Table 9: Reasons for not choosing a non-native vernacular or non-native standard speaker (overall).</i>		
Variety	Non-native vernacular	Non-native standard
Traits	arrogant/gruff (3) aggressive/intrusive (2) not interested/not serious (2) not clear (2)	foreigner-like (7) strange/frightening (3) artificial/not natural (3) stiff/forced/strict/too exact/not relaxed (3) too shy (3) not suitable/not normally used (2) nagging (2)

These reasons show the negative traits that the respondents associate with the non-native varieties. The non-native vernacular has sounded aggressive or arrogant, disinterested or unclear to some respondents. The non-native standard variety has sounded strange, frightening, artificial or stiff to some respondents or gave the impression of a shy or nagging speaker. All these traits have been mentioned only rarely (2–3 times). One negative trait associated with the non-native standard variety has been mentioned more often, however. Seven respondents have perceived the non-native standard speaker to sound foreigner-like and have not chosen him/her because of this reason. While some respondents have mentioned this directly, some have stated that they have chosen the speaker who sounded less foreign, in this case the non-native vernacular speaker, because they have felt that this speaker is closer to them. Other respondents have mistaken the non-native vernacular speaker for a native speaker. Table 10 presents their justifications for their speaker choices:

<i>Table 10: Justifications for the speaker choices in the listening test associated with sounding foreigner-like as a negative trait.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
koska ei ulkomaalainen (2x)	because not a foreigner (2x)

ei kuulostanut syntyperäiseltä suomalaiselta, mutta hänen puheensa kuulosti siltä kuin olisi kuitenkin tottunut suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, joten valitsin hänet	Did not sound like a native Finn, but his/her speech sounded as s/he was more used to the Finnish culture. Therefore I chose him/her.
vähemmän aksenttia, siksi mielikuva lähemmästä kulttuurista	less accent, therefore an impression of a closer culture
samaa kieltä äidinkielenä puhuva tuntuu läheisemmältä	A person who speaks the same mother tongue feels closer.
helpompi valita syntyperäiseltä suomalaiselta kuulostava	easier to choose a person who sounds like a native Finn
ajattelisin, että helpompi pitää hänen kanssaan, kun äidinkieli suomi	I would think it's easier with her/him, because the native language [is] Finnish

These seven respondents have perceived sounding foreigner-like as a negative trait, thus. As emerges from Table 8 above, however, three respondents have chosen the non-native standard speaker due to the reason that s/he sounds especially foreigner-like to them. Table 11 presents their justifications for their speaker choices:

<i>Table 11: Justifications for the speaker choices in the listening test associated with sounding foreigner-like as a positive trait.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
puhetavassa vieraampi korostus, siksi kiinnostavampi seurata	in the way of speaking a more foreign sounding accent, therefore more interesting to listen to
koska ulkomaalainen	because foreigner

Ulkomaalaistaustaisella (?) voi olla hyviä ideoita ainakin kieliaineissa.	A person with a foreign origin (?) could have good ideas at least in a language subject.
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The trait *foreigner-like* has not occurred with native speakers, contrary to many other traits associated with the non-native standard (see Subsection 3.8.5 and Appendix I). Three respondents have compared native and non-native standard speakers directly. According to them, the standard variety sounds still stranger when used by a native speaker, as Table 12 shows:

<i>Table 12: Comments on the native speakers' and the non-native speakers' standard variety usage.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
Erityisesti ilman vierasta korostusta kuulostaa tosi tönköltä yleiskielisenä	Especially without foreign accent it sounded very stiff/awkward in the standard language.
Puhuja kuulosti suomalaiselta, joten kirjakielen käyttö oudoksutti.	The speaker sounded like a Finn. Therefore, the usage of the written language felt odd.
Jännää, kuinka maahanmuuttajataustaisella kirjakieli oli parempi, natiivilla ei.	Exciting, how the written language was better with a person with migration background, but not with a native speaker.

These comments show that the spoken Finnish standard variety may associate with non-nativeness.

Although the respondents have preferred overall nearly as often the non-native standard speaker (see Subsection 3.8.1), the respondents who have preferred the non-native vernacular speaker have given clearly more positive reasons for their choice (108 comments, compared to 69 positive comments for the choice of the non-

native standard speaker). Vice versa, they have given also more negative reasons why they have not chosen the non-native standard speaker (23 comments, compared to 9 comments against the choice of the non-native vernacular speaker). Therefore, proportionally more positive traits have been ascribed to the non-native vernacular speakers and proportionally more negative traits have been ascribed to the non-native standard speakers. The respondents' justifications for their speaker choices differ according to the scenarios, however. Table 13 shows the respondents' reasons for choosing a non-native speaker in each of the scenarios (with the number of mentions of each trait given in brackets; only traits named at least twice):

<i>Table 13: Reasons for choosing a non-native speaker per scenario.</i>	
Variety in the scenario	Trait
Group presentation VER	natural (9), enthusiastic/eager/interested (8), relaxed/not stiff/not forced (6), better language proficiency (4), familiar/intimate (3), clear (3), close (3), brisk (2), authentic/not pretending (2), (self-)confident/not shy (2), easier to approach/less distancing (2), nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (2), register is better/more suitable (1)
Group presentation STD	serious/ready (3), nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (2), clear (2), register is better/more suitable (0)
Shared flat VER	natural (6), relaxed/not stiff/not forced (6), clear (3), easier to approach/less distancing (3), normal/less strange/less frightening (3), nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (3), authentic/not pretending (2), register is better/more suitable (1)
Shared flat STD	nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (11), register is better/more suitable (1)
Job interview VER	natural (6), authentic/not pretending (5), relaxed/not stiff/not forced (4), clear (3), better language proficiency (2), close (2), enthusiastic/eager/interested (2), brisk (2), register is better/more suitable (1)
Job interview	clear (10), better language proficiency (5), business-like/factual (3), nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying (3), (self-)

STD	confident/not shy (3), enthusiastic/eager/interested (3), expert (2), correct (2), not aggressive (2), register is better/more suitable (7)
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In all the scenarios, the respondents who have chosen the vernacular speakers have perceived them to be more natural than the standard speakers. In the group presentation scenario, the vernacular has been perceived to express more interest, in the shared flat scenario relaxation and in the job interview scenario authenticity. These traits most likely reflect which characteristics of an interlocutor the respondents attach most importance to. The vernacular speakers in each scenario are attributed mostly sociability traits. Clearness is important in every scenario. Good language proficiency is most important in the group presentation scenario, somewhat less in the job interview scenario and not mentioned at all in the shared flat scenario.

The respondents who have favoured the standard speaker in the group presentation scenario have provided only little justification. However, virtually all have indicated to have chosen the standard speaker, because s/he sounds nicer in the broader sense in the shared flat scenario. The justifications in the job interview scenario are more diverse. While clearness has been the main reason for choosing the standard speaker, also perceived better language proficiency and a range of attributes related to both professionalism and sociability have been important.

Seven respondents have indicated to have chosen the standard speaker in the job interview scenario, because the register is better or more suitable. The respondents have paid little attention to the register itself in the other scenarios. The same holds for the case of native speakers. This may reflect the respondents' opinion that a job interview demands notably more attention to the register than the other communication situations.

As the discussion above shows, the respondents' justifications for their speaker choices differ considerably according to the scenarios. The qualitative analysis of the respondents' justifications suggests thus that the respondents' non-native variety preference depends on the communication situation. The following subsection presents the quantitative analysis of this question.

3.8.4 Dependence of the preference on the communication situation

Figure 2 shows the respondents' choices of non-native speakers' vernacular and standard guises in each of the scenarios:

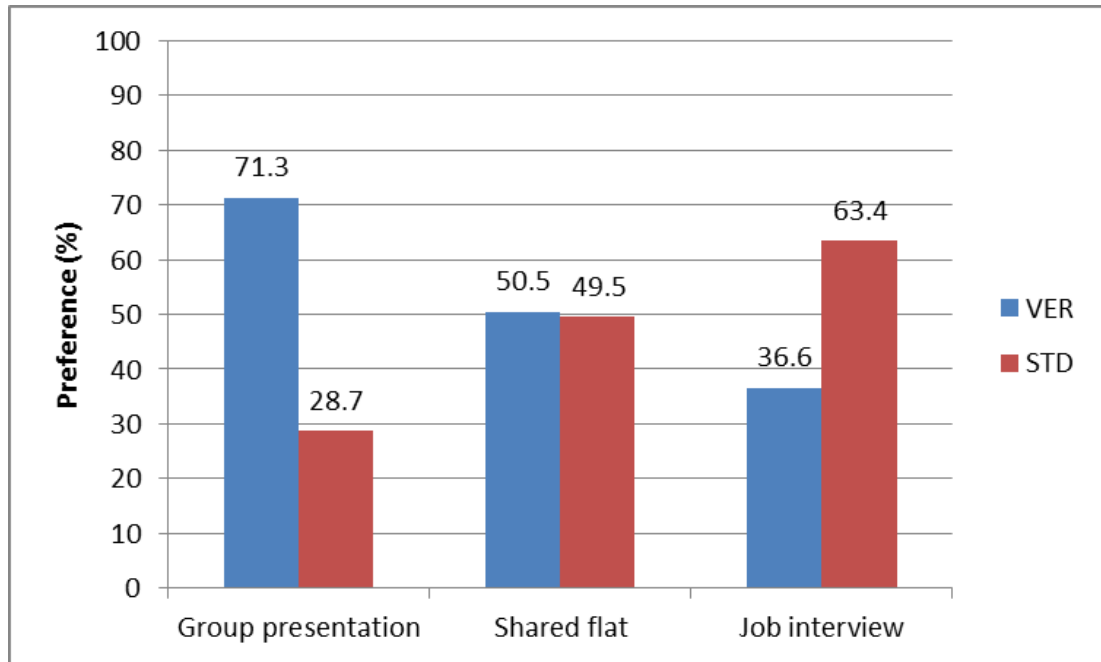


Figure 2: Preferences (%) of the non-native vernacular (VER) and standard variety (STD) in the different scenarios (n=101).

A chi-square test reveals that the non-native variety preferences differ significantly according to the scenarios ($X^2=24.658$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$), as has been expected. This result suggests that native Finnish speakers' preference of non-native varieties depends on the communication situation. In the group presentation scenario, the respondents have clearly preferred the vernacular in terms of percentage (71.3%). In the shared flat scenario, the respondents have chosen nearly as often the non-native speakers using the standard variety (49.5%) as the vernacular (50.5%). In the job interview scenario, the respondents have preferred the standard variety slightly to the vernacular in terms of percentage (63.4%).

Some respondents have commented on the different communication situations and compared them to each other. Their comments allow an insight into their conceptualisation of the situations. The respondents have referred to the presentation scenario as an *unofficial situation* (*epävirallinen tilanne*) that demands a vernacular. Some respondents have referred also to the shared flat scenario as an *informal situation* (*vapaamuotoinen tilanne*) or as the *formation of a relaxed housing atmosphere* (*rennon asumisilmapiirin muodostaminen*) that demands a vernacular. But other respondents have called it an *official situation* (*virallinen tilanne*) that demands the standard variety. All the respondents that have commented on the job

interview scenario have referred to it as an *official situation* (*virallinen tilanne*) or *official context* (*virallinen yhteys*). However, they do not agree about what variety a native speaker should use in this communication situation. Some respondents have stated that such a situation demands the standard or a rather correct (*korrektimpi*) language. On the contrary, one respondent has commented: “Even though it is a job interview, a vernacular sounds better, because the speaker gives a more relaxed impression of her/himself” (own translation of the comment: “Vaikka kyse on työhaastattelusta, puhekielisyys kuulostaa paremmalta koska puhuja antaa itsestään rennomman vaikutelman”). Another respondent has commented: “I like relaxed workers” (own translation of the comment: “Pidän rennoista työskentelijöistä”). They both have chosen the non-native and native vernacular speaker. One respondent has relativised her choice: “By all means, it depends for what kind of job one is applying” (own translation of the comment: “Riippuu toki, mitä työtä hakee”). This comments show the influence of the communication situation on the respondents’ variety preference. They show also the influence of the exact description of the scenario, e.g. the nature of the imagined open position. Variety preferences are thus most likely not the same in the case of an advertisement for a job as an intern, a top manager or a summer job in an amusement park. The respondents’ comparison of the different scenarios during the test shows furthermore the influence of the scenarios on each other. Variety preferences might have been different had there been only two scenarios, e.g. only the group presentation and the job interview scenario.

3.8.5 Comparison of native and non-native variety preferences

As has been pointed out in Subsection 3.1.1, no native Finnish speaker is assumed to use the standard variety in any real-life oral communication situation corresponding to the scenarios of this study. Indeed, many respondents have commented on this. They have called the vernacular the normal way of speaking and have not chosen the native standard speakers because they sounded to them strange (*outo*), unnatural (*epäluonteva*), artificial (*teennäinen*), forced (*väkinäinen*), frightening (*pelottava*), creepy (English used in the original), domineering and authoritative (*määräilevä ja auktoriteettinen*), comical (*koominen*), socially restricted (*sosiaalisesti rajoittunut*), strange and stiff (*omituinen ja jäykkä*), robot-like (*robottimainen*), or like too much of trying (*kuulostaa liialta yrittämiseltä*). Some respondents remarked that the standard variety is not suitable (*ei sopiva*), too official (*liian virallinen*) or too formal

(*liian muodollinen*), either generally or for the specific communication situation. Some respondents have remarked directly that in their opinion, the standard variety is not normally used by native speakers. Table 14 presents their comments:

<i>Table 14: Comments on the native speakers' standard variety usage expressing a negative attitude.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
Ei kukaan puhu kirjakieltä!	No one speaks the written language!
Kukaan ei puhu kirjakieltä oikeasti.	No one speaks the written language actually.
Ei kukaan lähes puhu kirjakieltä.	No one nearly speaks the written language.

However, overall 28.1% of the respondents have still chosen the standard guise of the native speakers and commented positively on it, as Table 15 shows:

<i>Table 15: Comments on the native speakers' standard variety usage expressing a positive attitude.</i>	
Original comments as given by the respondents (in Finnish)	English translations (own translations)
Kirjakielisyyys toi ammatimaisen vaikutelman.	The usage of the written language gave a professional impression.
Puhuja käyttää kirjakieltä ja antaa fiksumman vaikutelman.	The speaker employs the written language and gives a cleverer impression.
puhui asiallisemmin tilanteeseen nähden, ei puhekieltä	talked more professionally considering the situation, no vernacular

When comparing the respondents' choices amongst non-native and native speakers, the following picture emerges:

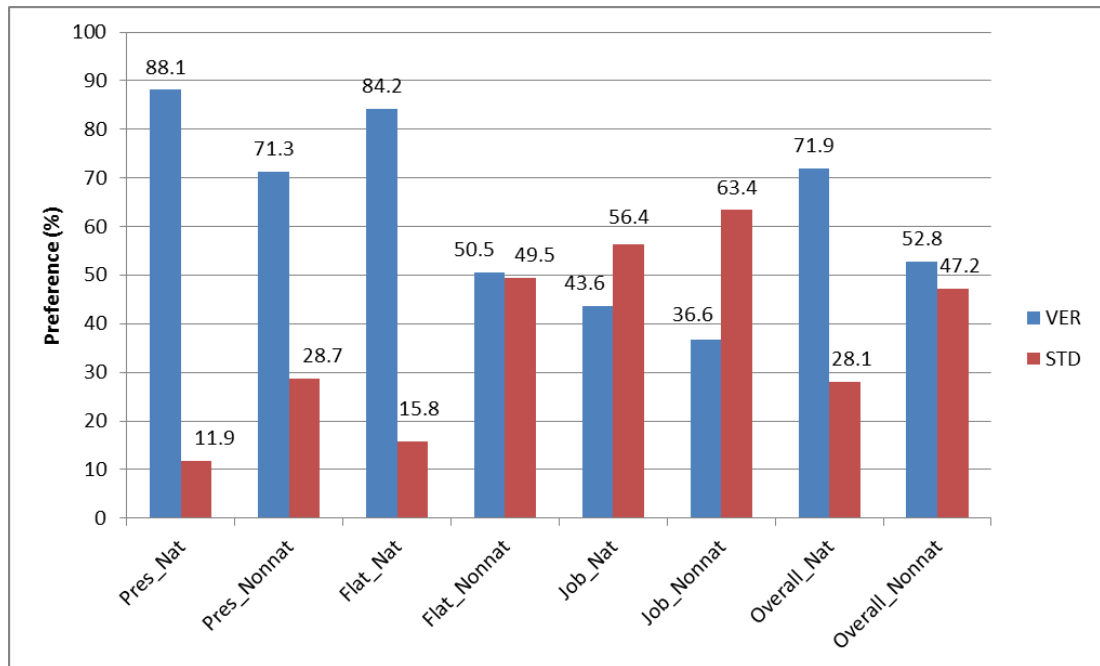


Figure 3: Preferences (%) of the native and non-native vernacular (VER) and standard variety (STD) ($n=303$).

A chi-square test reveals that native and non-native variety preferences differ significantly overall ($X^2=23.654$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$), in the group presentation scenario ($X^2=8.844$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$) and in the shared flat scenario ($X^2=26.015$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$), but not in the job interview scenario ($X^2=1.01$, $df=1$, $p>0.05$). This result suggests that native Finnish speakers' preference of native and non-native varieties differs. The respondents of this case study have chosen more often the non-native than the native standard guise in every scenario and overall. The difference is especially prominent in the shared flat scenario.

The respondents' justifications for their speaker choices allow an insight into their conceptualisations of the native and non-native varieties. In order to compare the respondents' reasons for choosing the native vernacular to their reasons for choosing the non-native vernacular as well as their reasons for choosing the native standard to their reasons for choosing the non-native standard, two figures have been created with Palladio. As in Figure 1 (see Subsection 3.8.3), the dark-grey dots represent a certain variety. The traits connected with a line to only one dot were mentioned only as a reason to choose the corresponding variety. The traits connected with two lines to both dots were mentioned as a reason in the case of both varieties.

Figure 4 provides an overview over the reasons that the respondents have mentioned for choosing the native and non-native vernacular:

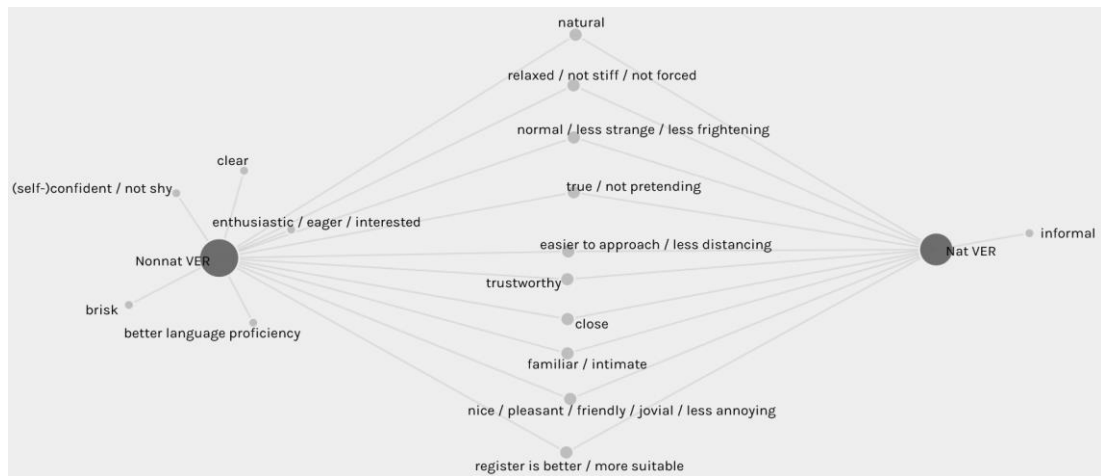


Figure 4: Comparison of the reasons for choosing a non-native vernacular (Nonnat VER) and a native vernacular (Nat VER) speaker (created with Palladio).

Figure 5 provides an overview over the reasons that the respondents have mentioned for choosing the native and non-native standard:

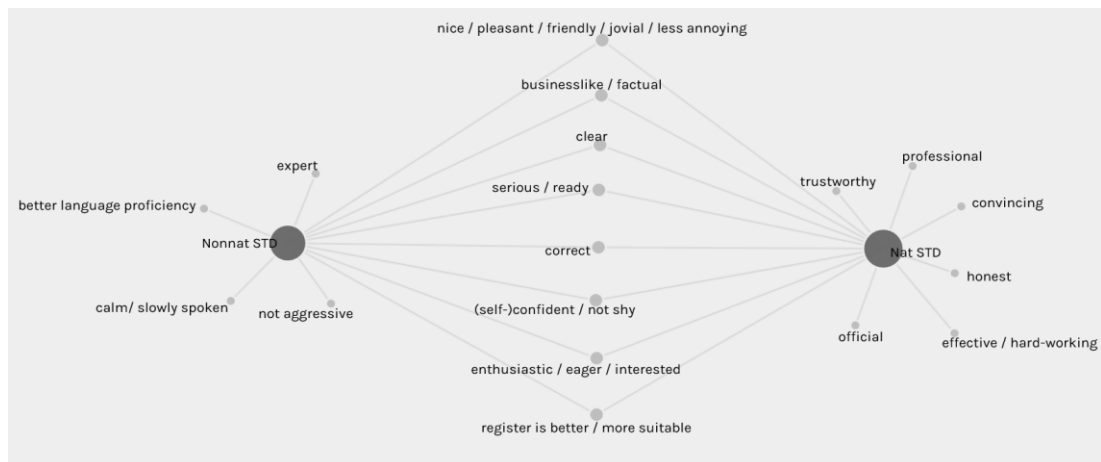


Figure 5: Comparison of the reasons for choosing a non-native standard (Nonnat STD) and a native standard (Nat STD) speaker (created with Palladio).

As emerges from the figures, the respondents have attributed many traits to both the native as well as to the non-native varieties. In some traits the native and non-native varieties differ, however. As can be expected, better language proficiency has been mentioned only in connection with non-native varieties. In addition, the respondents have attributed the trait *informal* only to the native but not to the non-native vernacular, and the traits *enthusiastic/eager/interested*, *brisk*, *(self-)confident* and *clear* only to the non-native but not to the native vernacular. The native and non-

native standard varieties have been described in even more different terms. The respondents have attributed the traits *trustworthy*, *professional*, *convincing*, *honest*, *official* and *effective/hard-working* only to the native standard. Many of these traits are related to professionalism (see also Subsection 2.6.1). The respondents have attributed the traits *expert*, *calm/slowly spoken* and *not aggressive* only to the non-native standard. These results show that native Finnish speakers conceptualise native and non-native Finnish varieties at least to some degree in different ways. The results are thus in line with the results of the listening test.

4 Discussion

4.1 Evaluation of the Finnish case study

The Finnish case study suffers from several methodical shortcomings that have most likely impaired its results to some degree. As has been pointed out in Subsection 3.5.1, it has not been possible to draw a representative sample of respondents. The results of the case study are thus based on a non-representative sample of respondents and cannot be generalised to all the students of the University of Helsinki. The validity test has shown that the majority of the respondents have realised that the matched guises were uttered by the same speaker, which impairs the results of a matched-guise study (see Subsection 2.8.2). The validity test has shown as well that the majority of the respondents have realised that one guise of each pair was in the vernacular and the other in the standard variety. It is assumed here that also this impairs the results at least to some degree, because social desirable answers become possible (see Subsection 2.8.2 and Section 3.7). Furthermore, the listening test has suffered from style authenticity and to some degree also from perception problems (see Subsection 2.8.2). The Finnish standard variety that coincides largely with the written language is more suitable for reading out the guises in the recording (see Subsection 3.1.1). The non-native guises have not always been recognised as non-native, however only by a minority of the respondents (see Subsection 3.6). Furthermore, some respondents have justified their speaker choices on the basis of the speakers' prosodics (see Subsection 3.6).

4.2 Results of the Finnish case study

Despite this methodical shortage, the study still shows some tendencies in native Finnish speakers' preferences of non-native varieties and their possible attitudes to them. The major insights are discussed below.

The combined matched- and verbal-guise study shows that native Finnish speakers prefer neither the vernacular nor the standard variety of non-native Finnish speakers per se. Their preference must depend on other factors. One such factor is the specific communication situation, as has been expected. The respondents of this case study have preferred the vernacular in the group presentation scenario and have tended to prefer the standard in the job interview scenario. No clear preference has emerged in the shared flat scenario. These results are further confirmed by the analysis of the respondents' justifications for their speaker choices. They differ according to the scenarios. The respondents' comments show that the respondents of this study have conceptualised the communication situations in different ways and have attached importance to different, sometimes contrary traits of the speakers and their linguistic behaviour. These conceptualisations have most likely influenced the respondents' choice. While the group presentation has been termed mostly an informal and the job interview a formal situation, the shared flat situation has been conceptualised in either way. Although these observations are based on only a small number of comments, they reflect the distribution of preferences of the vernacular and the standard variety according to the scenarios to some degree (see Figure 2 in Subsection 3.8.4). The perceived degree of formality of a communication situation seems thus to influence variety preferences. The possible standard language ideology that surfaced in Niemelä's (2016: 78, 89–90, 108) group discussion has not lead the respondents to prefer clearly the non-native standard variety, however.

The preliminary analyses to the case study show that the respondents' place of origin within Finland and their international experiences have a partial effect. The first of these results is in line with Leinonen's result (2015: 126–128; 149) who has found an effect of her respondents' place of origin within Finland on their accent rating (see Subsection 2.7.2). The preliminary analyses show no effects of the gender of the speaker nor of the majority of the respondents' social background variables on the variety preferences (gender, number of languages used in daily life, number of languages learnt, frequency of contact with non-native speakers, and the varieties used by those non-native speakers; further also age and major at the university,

which were relatively homogenous in this study, though). Previous research has shown, however, that expectations influence attitudes to native language (see Subsection 2.6.1). The operationalisation of the respondents' expectations as the varieties used by the non-native speakers they encounter may be unsuitable. It is also possible that expectations are indeed less important in the case of attitudes to non-native varieties. The results of the listening test in general and the preliminary analyses in particular may be also biased because of the non-representative respondent sample.

The methodical comparison has been possible only to a limited degree, because the majority of the respondents have stated to accept either both non-native varieties regardless of the communication situation or to prefer the non-native speakers to use the varieties as native speakers do. Only the answers from the group of respondents who have indicated to prefer the vernacular are comparable to their choices in the listening test. The method comparison shows that at least a part of those respondents has not chosen the same variety as they have indicated to prefer in their answers to the direct question. This finding supports the suggestion of this thesis that direct methods should not be employed (on their own) to study attitudes to non-native variation.

The qualitative analysis of the justifications for the speaker choices in the listening test reveals the respondents' attitudes to the non-native varieties. Generally speaking, the respondents have considered both the non-native vernacular and standard speakers as nice and friendly, enthusiastic, self-confident and clearly speaking. In this study, the respondents have attributed thus solidarity-like traits as friendliness to both varieties. This result differs from the results of previous research on attitudes to native varieties according to which vernaculars are often rated more positively on solidarity traits and standard varieties more positively on socioeconomic traits. Other traits than the ones mentioned above the respondents have associated only with either variety. Two major types of associations have emerged.

The first type of association concerns the naturalness of speech. The clearly strongest association that has emerged in this study between a non-native variety and a certain trait is the association between the vernacular and naturalness. Many respondents have perceived the vernacular speakers as especially natural and authentic in all the presented communication situations. The standard variety, on the

contrary, has left in some cases the impression of sounding strange or not natural, but also foreigner-like. The respondents have associated sounding natural also with native vernacular speakers and sounding strange with native standard speakers (see Subsection 3.8.5 and Appendix I). Naturalness is not connected to either of the above mentioned main dimensions of solidarity and socio-economic traits. The respondents in this study have paid still greater attention to naturalness than to these traits, however. This originates most likely from the fact that vernaculars are the virtually exclusive means of everyday communication between native speakers in Finland. As pointed out in Subsection 3.1.1, native Finnish speakers would not normally use a pure standard variety in any of the situations examined in the case study. Indeed, many of the respondents have commented on this (see Subsection 3.8.5). However, as shown in Subsection 3.1.2, native Finnish speakers are likely to encounter non-native interlocutors who speak a relatively pure standard variety if those studied the language mainly in language courses or if the non-native speakers themselves decided to employ exclusively the standard variety. Probably out of this reason, the respondents have associated foreignness only with non-native speakers. This result indicates that when native Finnish speakers use the pure standard variety in a communication situation where it is not usually used, their native interlocutors perceive this variety usage mostly as a register error, i.e. as employing the wrong variety in a certain communication situation. When non-native speakers – even though highly proficient – use the pure standard variety, only some of their native Finnish interlocutors see this variety usage as a register error. Other interlocutors explain this variety usage with the non-native speakers' foreign background. Employing the standard variety may thus make a non-native speaker appear especially foreign-like. Another result of this study supports this conclusion. The respondents have perceived only the non-native vernacular speakers as close, easier to approach, normal and as familiar or intimate. Furthermore, they have mistaken only non-native vernacular speakers for native speakers. Thus, although also the standard variety may sound friendly, only the vernacular gives the impression of a non-native speaker who is truly close to native Finnish speakers and, in the words of a respondent, the impression of a non-native speaker who is used to the Finnish culture. Teaching mainly the standard variety to non-native speakers may thus indeed lead to native speakers' associations of the standard with foreignness, as Lauranto assumes (see Subsection 3.1.2). The question arises if language teaching influences

thereby even language change (see Subsection 2.6.2). The same holds for non-native speakers' decision to employ exclusively the standard language.

The second type of association concerns one of the two main dimensions on which language varieties are rated, socioeconomic traits. The respondents have associated only the standard variety with professionalism in a broad sense and only the vernacular with relaxedness. The latter result is thus in line with findings of the above mentioned previous research on attitudes to native varieties (see also Subsection 2.6.1). In the case of both native and non-native speakers, the respondents have chosen more often the standard speaker in the job interview scenario. The standard variety seems to be the preferred variety in job interview situations also in the Finnish context. This may be due to the fact that also in the Finnish context, the standard variety effectuates psychological accommodation (see Subsection 2.5.5). The norms of a job interview may demand the standard variety of an applicant, regardless of the interviewer's variety. It is likely, however, that the demanded variety depends on the kind of open position. Furthermore, as previous research has shown, professional employers would most likely rate the varieties differently than university students (see Subsection 2.6.1). The results presented here can therefore not be generalised to the whole Finnish context. The respondents' justifications for their standard speaker choices in the job interview scenario still show that the standard variety plays a different role in a job interview situation than in the other communication situations. Especially many respondents who have chosen the non-native standard speaker have commented on their choice in the job interview scenario. Their justifications have also been much more specific than in the other scenarios. Furthermore, the respondents have paid attention to the suitability of the standard variety itself nearly exclusively in the job interview scenario. Thus, at least, the results of this study show that a job interview situation is a communication situation in which Finnish speakers pay more attention to variety usage than in other communication situations.

The respondents have paid attention to the non-native speakers' language proficiency as well. They have attributed good language proficiency to the non-native vernacular and to the non-native standard speakers nearly equally often, however. The respondents' orientation to the non-native speakers' language proficiency can be explained in terms of the CAT as *addressee focus* (see Subsection 2.5.1), in this case to the special status of non-native speakers in the communication

process. It remains unclear what features of a guise lead the respondents to perceive it as better language proficiency.

The comparison of the respondents' native and non-native variety preferences in the listening test shows that these preferences differ. The respondents have chosen more often the non-native than the native standard variety in every scenario. The analysis of the respondents' comments supports this result. Some respondents have stated that in their opinion, the standard variety sounds better when used by a non-native than by a native speaker. Even though this goes beyond the goals of this thesis, two possible explanations of this phenomenon are presented in the following.

The connection of the standard variety to correctness may have led some respondents to prefer the non-native speakers' standard even more often than the native speakers' standard (see Section 2.2). Native speakers may be expected to 'simply master' their native language, while non-native speakers have to learn the language and are expected to 'make mistakes'. Therefore, native speakers may demand an even more 'correct language' from non-native than from native speakers. Furthermore, non-natives' vernacular forms may be misinterpreted as 'mistakes' even more easily than natives' vernacular forms (see also Subsection 2.8.2).

However, the respondents have by no means chosen the standard guises only in the case of the non-native speakers. Although no native Finnish speaker can be expected to use the pure standard variety in any of the communication situations presented in this case study (see Subsection 3.1.1), overall 28.1% of the respondents and when considering the job interview situation alone even 56.4% of the respondents have still chosen the standard guise of the native speakers and have commented positively on it. This may be due to the fact that the vernacular and the standard variety do not form a dichotomy, but a continuum in the Finnish context. The respondents may thus have preferred a more standard-like variety, not necessarily the pure standard variety, but not a pure vernacular in any case. It is also possible, however, that the respondents have chosen the native speakers of which they thought that they converge to them, i.e. use the same variety that they themselves would use in a corresponding communication situation. The respondents may have held that they themselves would employ the standard variety, especially in a job interview situation, even though they actually may have not. In this case, the respondents have preferred convergence to their perceived, not actual, language usage (*subjective accommodation*, see Subsection 2.5.3). This phenomenon makes it

also difficult to conclude on which grounds the respondents have chosen a non-native speaker. The scenarios in this study have been designed so that the respondents could be expected to perceive the non-native speakers to converge according to their language skills (see Subsection 3.3.3). Based on the CAT, it would thus be possible to conclude that a respondent with a secure in-group identity would judge convergence positively and a respondent with an insecure in-group identity negatively. Basically, because all respondents can be expected to use a vernacular in the communication situations corresponding to the scenarios, it would be tempting to conclude that all the respondents must perceive the non-native vernacular as converging and that the differences in their choices originate only in their different accommodative orientations (see Subsection 2.5.2). However, because the respondents may have preferred convergence to their perceived, not actual, language usage, this conclusion is not possible. This shows that the results of studies on non-native variety preferences cannot be interpreted without data on the respondents' possible (standard) language ideologies, their accommodative orientation and their perceived as well as actual variety usage in different communication situations.

To sum up, the Finnish case study as a whole shows that adopted non-native vernaculars do not trigger only negative attitudes. Differently than in the three earlier studies on adopted foreign dialects and registers (Giles & Bourhis 1976; Platt & Weber 1984; Kokkonen 2007), the adopted Finnish vernacular have received by no means mostly negative ratings in this study. On the contrary, it has even been the preferred variety in the group presentation scenario. Adopted vernaculars are thus not *a priori* inferior to the adopted standard variety. The Finnish case study shows furthermore that native Finnish speakers do not perceive and rate native and non-native varieties in exactly same way. As claimed in the introduction to this thesis, attitudes to non-native varieties must therefore indeed not be deduced from findings on attitudes to native varieties, but they have to be studied in their own right. The variables that possibly influence attitudes to non-native variation need further research. In particular, the exact influence of the communication situation, the influence of a possible standard language ideology as well as the influence of the respondents' place of origin and international experience deserves closer attention.

In addition to the results summarised above, the Finnish case study has provided theoretical and methodical insights for the study of attitudes to non-native variation in general. The main insights are discussed in the following section, along

with the relevant factors for the study of attitudes to non-native variation that has emerged from the review of the background literature.

4.3 Theoretical considerations

In order to return to the central goal of this thesis, the exposition of theoretical and methodical factors which researchers of native speakers' attitudes to non-native variation have to pay special regard to, the present section reviews theoretical and the following section methodical factors.

The CAT as adopted for the intercultural context incorporates many of the important theoretical differences between attitudes to native and non-native variation (see Section 2.5). The basic formula with native speakers – convergence to gain the interlocutor's approval, divergence to keep a social distance – does not work in a straightforward way in the intercultural context. A range of factors influences intercultural communication and native interlocutors' perceptions of non-native speakers and their varieties. Amongst them are the interlocutors' accommodative orientation, the interlocutors' subjective perceptions of the actually employed varieties, the interlocutors' causal attributions for a certain language usage, the sociohistorical context and the immediate communication situation. Earlier research has shown that these factors indeed influence native listeners' attitudes to non-native language (see Sections 2.5 and 2.7). Also the Finnish case study has shown the influence of some of these factors (see Chapter 3). Limitations of the CAT may be its problematic concept of maintenance and its static view of in- and out-groups. The questions arise if maintenance really exists (see Subsection 2.5.1) and if group boundaries are not perceived in a more dynamic way in real-life communication situations (see Subsection 2.5.2).

The review of findings of earlier studies as well as the Finnish case study has revealed further theoretical aspects that have to be considered when studying attitudes to non-native language. As attitudes to native varieties, neither do attitudes to non-native varieties become manifest in behaviour in a straightforward way. The latter, i.e. attitudes to a minority group's varieties, are most likely even more prone to the social desirability bias, especially when being subject to actual social and political debate. Attitudes to non-native varieties are influenced by stereotypes to non-native speakers and in the case of intercultural communication by stereotypes to immigrants in general. Stereotypes to immigrants, in turn, are influenced by the

actual political and economic situation. As native varieties, also non-native varieties may be judged on the background of an ideology, as the here addressed standard language ideology. Ideologies may affect attitudes to non-native varieties in another way than native varieties, however, as pointed out in Section 4.2. The Finnish case study has illustrated how a speaker's exact word choice and the usage of certain dialect feature matters (see Subsections 3.3.7 and 3.8.3). As attitudes to native varieties, also attitudes to non-native varieties are held to all levels of language, from the sociolinguistic to the lexical and morpho-phonological level (see Subsection 2.6.1). Also the following factors may influence attitudes to non-native varieties and need further exploration: the in-/formality of the communication situation, notions of correctness, expectations, perceived first language accent, perceived better language proficiency, i.e. intelligibility, fluency and accent strength, as well as a range of the listeners' social background variables, i.a. their place of origin (e.g. rural vs. urban) and their international experience.

Contrary to the suggestions of earlier study results (see Subsection 2.7.3), the Finnish case study has shown that non-native vernacular varieties do not receive only negative evaluations. Over half of the respondents have preferred the non-native Finnish vernacular in the listening test and many respondents have commented positively on it. These results show that no general preference for the non-native standard variety can be hypothesised.

Theoretically most importantly, the very subject of the examined attitudes, non-native and native varieties, differ from each other in the way they are learnt, used, perceived and in what they express. Mainly, non-native varieties tend to be hybrid forms of native varieties and do not necessarily correlate with the non-native speaker's social background variables. A lack of sociolinguistic proficiency may lead non-native speakers to use their non-native varieties as they use their native varieties. Non-native speakers may also deliberately use non-native varieties in different ways from native speakers. The latter are not necessarily conscious of this. In terms of the CAT, a non-native speaker's lack of convergence to the native listener's variety may be because of a) a lack of language proficiency, b) a lack of sociolinguistic awareness or c) the will to express a unique meaning by divergence, i.e. a lack of motivation to converge. Native interlocutors do not necessarily guess the true reason. Furthermore, non-native varieties are always blended with signs of non-nativeness, i.e. foreign language accents (first language accent and accent strength) and different degrees of

language proficiency. Thereby, as also the CAT states, not the objectively measurable non-native linguistic performance, but the native interlocutors' perceptions of it – mainly the perceived fluency, intelligibility as well as the perceived accent and its strength – influence their attitudes. How these factors are perceived and how varieties are differentiated from each other phonologically are areas that need further research (see also Subsection 2.6.1). In order to gain clarity which of two or more given varieties is more advantageous to use for a speaker, researchers have to explore which speakers prefer which variety in which situation and why. The listeners, their background variables as well as possible interconnections of the variables have to form another main research focus in future. The beauty of a variety is in the ear of the listener.

4.4 Methodical considerations

The discussion above shows that attitudes to non-native varieties are influenced by a multitude of factors. This makes demands on the research methods. Three major methodical considerations are of importance for all research on attitudes to non-native variation and to some degree also for research on attitudes to native variation. They concern the social desirability bias, the study of attitudes to language in their natural environment and the CAT as a background theory for the study of attitudes to language.

The social desirability bias is one of the most important biases to avoid in studies on attitudes. Attitudes to non-native varieties are especially prone to the social desirability bias. Researchers of attitudes to non-native variation should therefore avoid methods that cannot control for this bias or use them only in combination with a sure method. The traditional direct methods as the interview and the questionnaire do not suit the study of attitudes to non-native variation (on their own), thus. But also newer direct methods where respondents are – in the broader sense – asked to say what they would do, think, or feel, as in group discussions, written answers or the rating of videotaped intercultural conversations, cannot be viewed as fully valid without control study. The respondents may do, think, or feel differently in a test than in a real communication situation. This may result from perceived social pressure that can emerge also from discussion group members, or because of the fact that the respondents are not conscious about what they actually do. For example, they may imagine using another variety than they actually use (see

Subsection 2.8.3). A relatively sure direct method in this regard seems the rating of varieties after real conversations (see Mai & Hoffmann 2011), when the respondents actually lead the conversation and already made a decision based on it.

All indirect approaches are designed to avoid the social desirability bias by actually let the respondents rate the varieties in a test situation or to actually react to them unconsciously. The discussion on the MGT and VGT in Subsection 2.8.2 has assumed, however, those social desirable answers may also occur when the respondents are conscious about the fact that they are rating varieties. The insights from the Finnish case study confirm this assumption (see Section 3.7). Variety recognition should therefore be avoided in a matched-guise study in order to avoid the social desirability bias. However, the correct perception of the varieties displayed in the guises is a vital condition for avoiding the perception bias (see Subsection 2.8.2). Language attitude research has to address this problem in the future.

Also the typical material of societal treatment approaches as letters to the editor or advertisement may be coloured by social desirability, which is hard to discover afterwards. The two less applied indirect approaches, the measuring of recalled text amount and the co-operative behaviour approach (see Subsection 2.8.2), seem least prone. They deserve more attention in the future.

Methodologically speaking, both listening tests and direct approaches suffer from one weakness that is decisive both on the background of the CAT and sociolinguistics: They do not observe language in its natural environment, elicit natural language data, nor are they able to account for influences of the interlocutors' interaction on their attitudes in real-life communication situations. This is the ultimate goal of sociolinguistics, however (Coupland 1984: 52). As the Finnish case study has shown, especially a listening test with its recorded speakers, chosen scenarios and constructed linguistic material for the guises is artificial. The different scenarios influence each other, because the respondents compare them during the test (see Subsection 3.8.4), and the presence of the researcher influences the test situation (see Subsection 2.8.2). Some respondents in the Finnish case study expressed their uneasiness of rating speakers only on the basis of their voices (see Section 3.7). On the background of the CAT most crucially, neither of the traditional research methods of the language attitude paradigm is interactional. Accommodation which is crucial to attitude formation is not possible without interaction, however. Data on respondents' attitudes gathered by a listening test or hypothetical questions is most

likely not generalisable to interactive communication situations. In the case of the direct methods, this is furthermore because of the fact that respondents do often not know what they actually do (see Subsection 2.8.3). The questions arise, therefore, if these methods do justice to a sociolinguistic subject and are suitable to study attitudes to language varieties. At least, based on this discussion, the CAT cannot be seen as a suitable background theory for studies employing a not-interactional method. After a repeated call for “less socially-artificial techniques” (Giles & Bourhis 1976: 582), more “observational approaches” (Coupland 1984: 52), and less acontextual studies (Bradac et al. 2001: 140–141), many recent studies moved away from artificial classical interviews and questionnaires, and read-out passages without context in the case of the MGT. Respondents are interviewed after real actions (Mai & Hoffmann 2011), realistic as-real actions (Kokkonen 2007), or interaction is simulated and context is added to matched-guise designs, e.g. by showing pictures (Niemelä 2016), or giving descriptions of decision-making scenarios (Leemann et al. 2015). These added contexts may influence attitudes in a haphazard way, though.

The Finnish case study has shown several further methodical factors that researchers of attitudes to non-native variation have to take into account especially when employing a listening test. The first of them, voice recognition, concerns also the study of attitudes to native varieties.

Voice recognition has emerged as a major problem of the listening test. Even though the original pure matched-guise design has been expanded to a verbal-guise design and an additional in-between voice has been included in order minimising recognisability of a voice in the second guise, a vast majority of the respondents has realised that the matched guises were uttered by the same speaker. This problem did not occur in the 60s (Lambert et al. 1960). This may be because of the development of audial techniques or the present respondents’ much increased familiarity with recorded and digitally transmitted voices.

Many other factors concern the study of attitudes to non-native varieties in particular. They are connected to the nature of non-native varieties. First of all, the non-native speakers have to be recognised as such. The pilot studies to this case study have shown that the non-native speakers who record the guises for a listening test must not be too highly proficient, but still proficient enough to be fully intelligible. The mimicking authenticity bias poses fewer problems than in studies on native varieties, as all the varieties have to be mimicked to some degree. The study

should also address typical non-native hybrid varieties, however. Especially with a non-native speaking researcher introducing the study, the observer's paradox has to be minimised by activating all possible varieties in the respondents. Researchers of attitudes to non-native varieties have to control for signs of non-nativeness or learner's language, i.e. first language accent, accent strength, fluency and intelligibility. The non-native speakers' first language accent must not be recognisable in order to avoid the influence of stereotypes about a certain first language group. The accent has to be equally strong in all the guises, i.e. all the varieties. The guises have also to be equally intelligible and fluent. Thereby, not the objectively measurable proficiency, but the listeners' perceptions matters. Alongside non-native voices, also native voices should be included in order to ensure that native speaking respondents are able to distinguish native and non-native speech. The perception of non-native and native varieties differs decidedly, because non-native varieties are learnt and used differently. Native respondents in a study may attribute different reasons to non-native language production that may affect their attitudes decidedly. In order to be able to formulate hypotheses or to explain the respondents' variety preferences, the researcher has to determine the respondents' accommodative orientation and their beliefs about their own language usage, which may differ from their actual language usage. They also have to investigate possible language ideologies, keeping in mind that the ideologies may affect attitudes to non-native varieties in a different way than attitudes to native varieties. In the context of convergence and divergence to in- and outgroups, the researcher has to determine if the respondents indeed draw the line strictly between native and non-native speakers or if another group memberships override its importance.

To sum up: Many of the traditional methods of the language attitude paradigm suffer from the weakness that they cannot avoid the social desirability bias and that they do not study attitudes to language in their natural environment. The often applied MGT and VGT may seem handy to apply at first sight and to deliver straightforward and secure results. The Finnish case study has shown, however, that it is very demanding and time-consuming to construct a valid and reliable research design and to control for all possible biases. Especially from the wide theoretical background of intercultural communication evolve numerous challenges. A multitude of factors plays a role in the forming of attitudes, especially in the forming of attitudes to non-native varieties. The researcher has to consider a large amount of

background data and conditions in order to ensure that a study on attitudes to non-native varieties is both valid and reliable. The respondents' possibility to comment freely on their choices in the listening test has proven to be fruitful, however. The respondents' comments have provided both insights into the respondents' attitudes to non-native varieties and insights into the reliability and validity of the case study. As in the study of attitudes to native varieties, it is thus advisable to employ several different methods, or combinations of them, as they unveil different aspects of attitudes and complete or challenge their results mutually (see Subsection 2.8.1). Most importantly, considering that language attitudes are at work in interaction, and to do justice to sociolinguistics, language attitude research should study language attitudes in real-life, interactional communication situations, considering most possibly natural language data in future.

5 Conclusions and outlook

The main goal of this thesis has been to expose special theoretical and methodical factors in the study of native speakers' attitudes to non-native variation, mainly vernacular and standard varieties that constitute different registers. The thesis has reviewed previous findings on the nature of non-native varieties, attitudes and the language attitude paradigm including its most applied theory, the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the traditional research methods of the language attitude paradigm, with a special focus on the study of attitudes to non-native variation. A combined matched- and verbal-guise and questionnaire case study conducted at the University of Helsinki, Finland, has supported this discussion. The case study has addressed native Finnish speaking students' preference of non-native Finnish speakers using either a general vernacular from Southern Finland or the standard variety in three different scenarios representing three communication contexts (job interview, group presentation, searching for a flatmate). As it has not been possible to draw a representative sample of respondents, the results of the case study cannot be generalised. Furthermore, it has remained unclear to what extent the results have been affected by social desirability. The study has still pointed out some tendencies how non-native Finnish speakers' choice of either a more vernacular-like or a more standard-like variety may affect their popularity amongst native Finnish

speakers. Furthermore, the study has provided further insights into the theory and methodology of the study of attitudes to non-native variation.

The reviewed previous findings about non-native varieties and attitudes to them as well as the results of the Finnish case study suggest that attitudes to non-native varieties are not the same as to native varieties. They have to be studied in their own right, thus. The theoretical background of the study of attitudes to non-native variation differs from the one of the study of attitudes to native variation. In consequence, researchers of attitudes to non-native varieties have to control for additional factors, i.a. for the structural differences in non-native variation and especially carefully for social desirability. Therefore, the traditional research methods of the language attitude paradigm are not equally suitable for their purposes. Based on the results of this thesis, future research into attitudes to non-native variation is able to take the here exposed special theoretical factors into account and to choose most suitable methods for its studies. As only few studies on attitudes to non-native register variation in particular have been conducted yet, future research has to explore still many of its facets. There is a multitude of complementary and/or alternative theories to the CAT within the fields of the Social Psychology of Language and Intercultural Communication that may serve as backgrounds for future studies (see, for example Gallois et al. (1995: 120–127); Robinson & Giles (2001: 57–101) in *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, especially the theories on the role of expectation in intercultural communication by Burgoon & Burgoon (2001); Gudykunst (2002: 183–205) in *The Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*; van Bezooijen (2002)), of which a part has already been applied in language attitudes studies. In addition to native speakers' attitudes, also non-native speakers' own attitudes to their non-native varieties should be explored in more depth. As a multitude of linguistic, social and psychological factors are important for the formation of attitudes to non-native variation, an increased co-operation of several disciplines will be necessary to gain a complete picture and a profound understanding of attitudes to non-native variation.

The methodological discussion of this thesis has revealed a further point of interest for all research on attitudes to language: Many of the traditional research methods within the language attitude paradigm do not study natural language in real-life communication situations, as is required by sociolinguistics. For future research, it seems therefore most advisable to follow the more recently developed approaches,

or to invent even new approaches, in order to strive for studying attitudes to language variation in its natural environment and to address the subject more bottom-up and open-mindedly. Such approaches could include participant observation studies, even though presenting their own challenges, e.g. the observation of interactions between officials or salespersons and non-native speakers, e.g. at a kiosk or the social insurance institution as in the different studies on (native speakers') ways of running errands in the social insurance institution of Finland, Kela (Sorjonen & Raevaara 2006), or at R-Kioski (Lappalainen & Raevaara 2009). Another possibility would be videotaping real-life interactions, e.g. interactions between random native speakers on the street and non-native speakers asking them for directions, as in the approach developed by Lorenza Mondada (see e.g. Maget 2009, Istituto Svizzero Roma 2016). Thereby, the spontaneous linguistic reactions of the native speakers to non-native speech, e.g. employing foreigner talk, switching to a lingua franca as English, or employing a more standard-like or an everyday vernacular variety may serve as preliminary indicators for their attitudes. In order to exclude visual factors, if wished so, the reactions of native speakers to non-native speech in recorded phone calls to customer services or official institutions could be analysed, e.g. by conversation analysis. Thereby, researchers could also prospect already existing corpora. If interviews are employed, they could take place right after real-life (see Mai & Hoffmann 2011), or as-real-life interactions (see Kokkonen 2007). Also native speakers' compliance with different non-native varieties could be measured by the co-operative behaviour approach, as in Kristiansen's (1997) study on (native) Danish varieties, or native speakers' opinions on non-native varieties gathered from sources as social media, or letter to the editor (societal treatment approach). The MGT and VGT could be employed to gain closer insights into the native listeners' background variables, their influence on their attitudes and their possible interplay. A well planned and conducted study with a representative sample of respondents could be analysed for example by a suitable multifactorial design as introduced for linguistics by Gries (2008: 241–306).

The results of the study of attitudes to non-native variation has implications for the interaction of native and non-native speakers, i.e. intercultural communication, for second language learning and teaching and for the current European debate on language as the key for integration and naturalisation.

On the background of attitudes to linguistic variation, language may indeed be seen as a “powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information”, as Cargile et al. (1994: 211) state. Whenever non-native speakers’ reasons for a variety choice and the native listeners’ perceptions and casual attributions do not meet, there is a potential for misunderstandings in intercultural communication. Language learners may not (yet) be able to employ different varieties, they may (yet) be unconscious about their non-native language’s different varieties and how they are used or they may have assigned new meanings to the varieties and do therefore not want to use varieties as native speakers. Native speakers, in turn, are not necessarily conscious of non-native speakers’ true language proficiency or the fact that their socioeconomic backgrounds do not necessarily correlate in the same way with their varieties as native speakers. They may attribute a ‘wrong’ reason to the non-native speakers’ variety usage. While it is most likely impossible to prevent misunderstandings entirely, rising native and non-native speakers’ awareness about the existence of language varieties and attitudes to language variation may already improve intercultural communication.

As this thesis has shown, there is no straightforward answer to the question what variety a non-native speaker would employ best. Native speakers’ variety preferences are likely to differ in every speech community. The respondents in the Finnish case study rated both the non-native vernacular and the non-native standard variety positively and negatively in all the communication situation scenarios. Their variety preferences depend partly on the communication situation, but also on other factors that have still to be determined in more detail. Most importantly, the Finnish case study has shown that non-native vernaculars do by no means receive only negative evaluations, as earlier findings on attitudes to non-native vernaculars suggested. Especially, the respondents have perceived only the non-native vernacular as close to them in a broader sense and have mistaken only the non-native vernacular as native language in some cases. Possible future, fully reliable and valid studies’ results showing the same trend would be strong arguments for Finnish as a second language teaching to teach both a vernacular and the standard variety to non-native speakers, alongside with explicit sociolinguistic proficiency. The standard variety cannot be seen as a ‘default’ variety that suits every communication situation equally well. The results of the Finnish case study suggest that while an elaborate standard-like register may foster finding employment, it does not necessarily help making new

acquaintances in a more casual environment, e.g. at university when searching for a fellow student to give a group presentation. A register error upwards, i.e. choosing a too elaborate register, is as grave as a register error downwards, i.e. choosing a too casual register. Thereby, both second language teachers and non-native speakers have to take into account, however, that there is neither a straightforward answer to the question what variety a non-native speaker should employ best in a certain communication situation. While linguistic convergence amongst native interlocutors is often seen as positive, it depends on a range of factors if a certain native speaker prefers a non-native interlocutor to converge or diverge. The most pleasant non-native speakers do not necessarily employ the same varieties in the same situations as native speakers, but the varieties that their native interlocutors like them to employ. In other words, native listeners' preferred non-native language usage is not necessarily always as near-native as possible, but suitably different. Non-native speakers who are proficient in several varieties (that constitutes registers in the native speech community) are able to adapt their speech styles best. They can decide which variety they want to employ in which communication situation, or if they want to assign them even new meanings, i.e. to mark themselves as a group of non-native speakers from a certain country of origin. Sociolinguistically proficient non-native speakers are able to use varieties actively to construct their own identity and relationships in their new home country.

Results to the questions which non-native variety or varieties native speakers rate (more) positively, on both socioeconomic and solidarity traits, could have important implications also for the current European debate on language as a key to integration and naturalisation, as only socioeconomically and with regard to native speakers' solidarity integrated non-native speakers can be considered fully integrated into their host community. Because native speakers' preferences of non-native varieties are not the same in every speech community, research on different speech communities is most welcome in order to gain a more differentiated view of attitudes to non-native variation.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Guises for the pilot studies

The instructions were originally presented in Finnish (for a copy of the handout, see Appendix D).

1) Group presentation

Instructions: You study at the University of Helsinki. You have to give a group presentation. You are looking for a fellow student for the group presentation. You can choose between the following two fellow students. Who will you choose?

First pilot study

English: “It would be nice to give the presentation together. You can tell what you are interested in. I don’t have a subject ready yet.”

Finnish vernacular: “Ois kiva pitää esitelmä yhdessä. Sä voit kertoa, mistä sä oot kiinnostunu. Mullei oo vielä aihetta valmiina.”

Finnish standard: “Olisi kiva pitää esitelmä yhdessä. Sinä voit kertoa, mistä olet kiinnostunut. Minulla ei ole vielä aihetta valmiina.”

Second pilot study (avoiding too feminine phrases)

English: “We can give the presentation together. You can tell what you are interested in. I don’t have a subject ready yet.”

Finnish vernacular: “Me voidaa pitää esitelmä yhdessä. Sä voit kertoa, mistä sä oot kiinnostunu. Mullei oo viel aihetta valmiina.”

Finnish standard: ”Me voimme pitää esitelmän yhdessä. Sinä voit kertoa, mistä olet kiinnostunut. Minulla ei ole vielä aihetta valmiina.”

2) Job interview

Instructions: You are part of HR of a medium-size company. You are looking for a new secretary. You can choose between the following two job applicants. Who will you choose?

First pilot study

English: “I have five years of work experience in this field, but I would naturally be ready to perform also other tasks.”

Finnish vernacular: “Mullon viis vuotta kokemust tältä alalt, mut mä oisin kyl valmis ottaan myös uusii tehtävii vastaa.”

Finnish standard: “Minulla on viisi vuotta kokemusta tältä alalta, mutta olisin kyllä valmis ottamaan myös uusia tehtäviä vastaan.”

Second pilot study (avoiding typical features of Helsinki spoken language)

English: “I have five years of work experience in this field and I could start as soon as possible.”

Finnish vernacular: “Mullon viis vuotta kokemusta tältä alalta ja mä voisin aloittaa heti.”

Finnish standard: ”Minulla on viisi vuotta kokemusta tältä alalta ja voisin aloittaa heti.”

Third pilot study (reincluding -A-apocope to ensure sufficient distinctness between the vernacular and the standard guise)

Finnish vernacular: “Mullon viis vuotta kokemust tält alalt ja mä voisin aloittaa heti.”

3) Shared flat

Instructions: You live in a shared apartment. Your flatmates are moving out. You are looking for a new flatmate. You can choose between the following two applicants. Who will you choose?

First pilot study

English: “We can decide on the precise date of moving as soon as your friends have let you know when they are going to move out.”

Finnish vernacular: “Me voidaa päättää tarkast muuttopäiväst, ku sun kaverit on ilmottanu, millon ne muuttaa pois.”

Finnish standard: “Me voimme päättää tarkasta muuttopäivästä, kun kaverisi ovat ilmoittaneet, milloin he muuttavat pois.”

Second pilot study (ensuring intelligibility)

English: “I could come around when your friends have moved out, then we can decide how we divide the housework.”

Finnish vernacular: “Mä voin tulla vaik käymää, sit ku sun kaverit on muuttanu pois, ni me voidaa sopii, miten me jaetaa kotityöt.”

Finnish standard: “Minä voin tulla vaikka käymään, sitten kun kaverisi ovat muuttaneet pois, niin voimme sopia, miten jaamme kotityöt.”

Appendix B: Scenarios and guises for the main study

1) Group presentation

Instructions: You study at the University of Helsinki. You have to give a group presentation. You are looking for a fellow student for the group presentation. You can choose between the following two fellow students. Who will you choose?

English: “We can give the presentation together. You can tell what you are interested in. I don’t have a subject ready yet.”

Finnish vernacular: “Me voidaa pitää esitelmä yhdessä. Sä voit kertoa, mistä sä oot kiinnostunu. Mullei oo viel aihetta valmiina.”

Finnish standard: “Me voimme pitää esitelmän yhdessä. Sinä voit kertoa, mistä olet kiinnostunut. Minulla ei ole vielä aihetta valmiina.”

2) Job interview

Instructions: You are part of HR of a medium-size company. You are looking for a new intern. You can choose between the following two job applicants. Who will you choose?

English: “I have five years of work experience in this field and I could start as soon as possible.”

Finnish vernacular: “Mullon viis vuotta kokemust tältä alalt ja mä voisin alottaa heti.”

Finnish standard: “Minulla on viisi vuotta kokemusta tältä alalta ja voisin aloittaa heti.”

3) Shared flat

Instructions: You live in a shared apartment. Your flatmates are moving out. You are looking for a new flatmate. You can choose between the following two applicants. Who will you choose?

English: “I could come around when your friends have moved out, then we can decide how we divide the housework.”

Finnish vernacular: “Mä voin tulla vaik käymään, sit ku sun kaverit on muuttanu pois, ni me voidaa sopii, miten me jaetaa kotityöt.”

Finnish standard: “Minä voin tulla vaikka käymään, sitten kun kaverisi ovat muuttaneet pois, niin voimme sopia, miten jaamme kotityöt.”

Appendix C: Linguistic features by which the guises differ

1) Group presentation

Finnish vernacular:

Me voidaaØ pitää esitelmä **y**hessä. **Sä** voit kertoa, mistäØ **sä oot** kiinnostunuØ. **Mullei oo** vieläØ aihetta valmiina.

Finnish standard:

Me voimme pitää esitelmän **y**hdessä. **Sinä** voit kertoa, mistä Ø **olet** kiinnostunut. **Minulla ei ole** vielä aihetta valmiina.

2) Job interview

Finnish vernacular:

Mullon viisØ vuotta kokemusØ tältäØ alaltØ ja **mä** voisin alottaa heti.

Finnish standard:

Minulla on viisi vuotta kokemusta tältä alalta ja Ø voisin aloittaa heti.

3) Shared flat

Finnish vernacular:

Mä voin tulla **vaik** käymääØ, **sit ku sun** kaveritØ **on muuttanu**Ø pois, niØ **me voidaa**Ø sopii, miten **me jaetaa**Ø kotityöt.

Finnish standard:

Minä voin tulla **vaikka** käymään, sitten **kun Ø** kaverisi **ovat** muuttaneet pois, niin **Ø voimme** sopia, miten **Ø jaamme** kotityöt.

4) Features

The following list presents the exact features in which the Finnish vernacular and standard guises differ from each other, along with examples:

1. Short form of personal pronouns: sä ~ sinä, mä ~ minä
2. Pro-drop in the standard: sä ~ Ø, mä ~ Ø, me ~ Ø
3. Apocope of word final -i: viis ~ viisi
4. Loss of the last component in diphthongs ending in -i: alottaa ~ aloittaa
5. Short word forms: kyl ~ kyllä, vaik ~ vaikka, sit ~ sitten
6. Incongruence of 1PL: me voidaa ~ voimme, me jaetaan ~ jaamme
7. Apocope of final -n / assimilation of final -n / weak pronunciation of final -n: voidaa ~ voidaan
8. Loss of the equivalent of the weak degree of -t in consonant gradation: yhessä ~ yhdessä

9. Monophthongisation of vowel combinations ending in -a in final syllables: kertoo ~ kertoa, sopii ~ sopia
10. Short verb forms: oot ~ olet, ei oo ~ ei ole
11. Possessive pronouns vs. possessive suffixes: sun ~ -si
12. Incongruence of 3PL: on muuttanu ~ ovat muuttaneet
13. Loss of final -t of the participle: muuttanu ~ muuttaneet
14. Elision of -a in front of the verb to be (olla): mullon ~ minulla on
15. Loss of final -a/-ä: mist ~ mistä, viel ~ vielä

Appendix D: Example of the handout given to the respondents

Tutkimus pro gradu -tutkielmaa varten

Ohjeet

Kuuntelet seuraavaksi eri henkilöiden puheenvuoroja erilaisissa tilanteissa. Tilanteita on kolme. Kussakin tilanteessa kuuntelet ensin kahta puhujaa (**Osa A**). Valitse jompikumpi. Kuuntelet sitten kahta eri puhujaa (**Osa B**). Valitse jompikumpi.

Tutustu ensin tilanteisiin. Kuvittele mahdollisimman elävästi, että olet kyseisessä tilanteessa. Kun kuuntelet puheenvuorot, voit kuvitella, että kuuntelisit puhujia puhelimesta. Kun olet valinnut puhujan, saat 30 sekuntia aikaa, jotta voisit perustella valintasi. Kirjoita ylös, mitä tulee spontaanisti mieleesi.

Ei ole oikeaa tai väärää vastausta eivätkä kirjoitusvirheet haittaa! Ei se mitään, jos et pysty perustelemaan valintaasi. On kuitenkin **tärkeää, että valitset jokaista tilannetta varten jomankumman puhujan.**

Ensimmäinen tilanne

Opiskelet Helsingin yliopistossa. Sinun täytyy pitää ryhmäesitelmä. Olet etsimässä kaveria ryhmäesitelmääsi varten. Valitse seuraavasta kahdesta opiskelukaverista toinen. Kumman valitset? Merkitse rastilla!

Osa A

Ensimmäinen puhuja: O Toinen puhuja: O
Perustele valintasi, jos haluat:

Osa B

Ensimmäinen puhuja: O Toinen puhuja: O
Perustele valintasi, jos haluat:

Toinen tilanne

Asut soluasunnossa. Huonekaverisi ovat muuttamassa pois. Olet etsimässä uutta huonekaveria. Valitse seuraavasta kahdesta hakijasta toinen. Kumman valitset? Merkitse rastilla!

Osa A

Ensimmäinen puhuja: O Toinen puhuja: O
Perustele valintasi, jos haluat:

Osa B

Ensimmäinen puhuja: O Toinen puhuja: O
Perustele valintasi, jos haluat:

Kolmas tilanne

Työskentelet keskikokoisen firman henkilöstöosastossa. Olet etsimässä uutta työharjoittelijaa. Valitse seuraavasta kahdesta työnhakijasta toinen. Kumman valitset? Merkitse rastilla!

Osa A

Ensimmäinen puhuja: O Toinen puhuja: O
Perustele valintasi, jos haluat:

Osa B

Ensimmäinen puhuja: O Toinen puhuja: O
Perustele valintasi, jos haluat:

Taustatiedot

A) Kaikille

- Ikä:
- Gender eli sukupuoli-identiteetti:
- Pääaine yliopistossa ja/tai (lisä-)koulutus ja/tai ammatti:
- Äidinkieli/äidinkielet:
- Muut osaamani kielet:
- Arjessa puhuttu kieli/arjessa puhutut kielet (myös murteita/puhekieliä):

- Oletko asunut muualla kuin Suomessa? Missä ja kuinka kauan?

- Huomasitko tutkimuksen aikana, että toinen jokaisesta lauseparista oli puhutulla kirjakiellellä, toinen puhekielellä?

- Kuulitko tutkimuksen aikana, että kunkin lauseparin puhuja oli sama?

B) Jos kotimaa on Suomi

- Mistä päin Suomea olet kotoisin?
- Miten usein olet yhteydessä suomea vieraana kielenä puhuvien henkilöiden kanssa? Puhuvatko he mielestäsi puhekieltä vai puhuttua kirjakieltä?

- Mitä mieltä olet, pitäisikö vieraskielisen henkilön puhua puhekieltä vai puhuttua kirjakieltä, tai kumpaa millaisessa tilanteessa?

C) Jos kotimaa on muu kuin Suomi

- Kauanko olet asunut Suomessa?
- Miten olet opiskellut suomea (itseopiskelu, kurssilla, töissä, jne.)?

- Puhutko mielestäsi enemmän puhekieltä vai enemmän puhuttua kirjakieltä, tai kumpaa millaisessa tilanteessa?

- Jos arvelet puhuvasi vain toista, haluaisitko puhua/osata myös toista? Miksi? Miksi ei tähän asti onnistunut?

- Mitä mieltä olet, pitäisikö vieraskielisen henkilön puhua puhekieltä vai puhuttua kirjakieltä, tai kumpaa millaisessa tilanteessa?

- Liittyykö kotimaassasi puhekieleen/murteisiin kielteisiä (eli negatiivisia) stereotyypppejä?

D) Tutkimuksen tulokset (vapaaehtoisesti)

Haluan saada tietoja tutkimuksen tuloksista. Yhteystietoni (käsitellään luottamuksellisesti eikä yhdistetä vastauksiini):

E) Kommentit (vapaaehtoisesti)

Appendix E: Groups of respondents

The main study was conducted with six groups of a total of 101 native Finnish speaking respondents. The following list indicates the date and place of the conduct of the study as well as the number of respondents that participated:

1. on 9 February 2016 in the university course *Suomi kieliyhteisönä* (*Finnish as a speech community*, Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, Finnish language) with a total of 32 respondents;
2. on 29 February 2016 in the university course *Maailman kielet* (*Languages of the world*, Department of Modern Languages, General linguistics) with a total of 14 respondents;
3. on 17 March 2016 in the university course *Semantiikan ja pragmatiikan harjoituskurssi* (*Semantics and pragmatics exercise course*, Department of Modern Languages, General Linguistics) with a total of 29 respondents;
4. on 21, 23 and 25 November in the library of the University of Helsinki with a total of 9 respondents following a call to participate in the study sent to the subject associations of the faculty of arts;
5. on 22 November 2016 in the university language courses *French for beginners* and *French for advanced learners* (*Ranskan alkeiskurssi* and *Ranskan jatkokurssi*, Language centre of the University of Helsinki) with a total of 8 respondents; and
6. on 24 November 2016 in the university language course *French pronunciation* (*Ranskan ääntämiskurssi*, Language centre of the University of Helsinki) with a total of 9 respondents.

Appendix F: Results of the preliminary analyses

1) Influence of female and male speakers' voices

a) Non-native speakers

Table: The respondents' choices of female and male non-native speakers (total of respondents: n=101).				
Scenario	Speaker's gender	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	f	32	16	0.32870322
	m	40	13	
Flat	f	26	30	0.36198353
	m	25	20	
Job	f	18	35	0.55810266
	m	19	29	
Overall	f	76	81	0.11184189
	m	84	62	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of female and male native speakers (total of respondents: n=101).</i>				
Scenario	Speaker's gender	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	f	40	8	0.26838163 (Yates' correction employed)
	m	49	4	
Flat	f	47	9	0.94362802
	m	38	7	
Job	f	21	32	0.4011087
	m	23	25	
Overall	f	108	49	0.20463243
	m	110	36	

2) Influence of the respondents' gender

75 respondents indicated their gender as female, 24 respondents as male. Only two of the 101 respondents indicated their gender as “other“. As this group is too small for meaningful calculations, it is omitted in the following two tables.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: Female and male respondents' choices of non-native speakers (total of respondents: n=99).</i>				
Scenario	Respondents' gender	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	f	51	24	0.29536602
	m	19	5	
Flat	f	39	36	0.5986743
	m	11	13	
Job	f	31	44	0.15002467
	m	6	8	
Overall	f	121	104	0.57645549
	m	36	36	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: Female and male respondents' choices of native speakers (total of respondents: n=99).</i>				
Scenario	Respondents' gender	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	f	67	8	

	m	20	4	0.67137324 (Yates' correction employed)
Flat	f	63	12	0.80968541 (Yates' correction employed)
	m	20	4	
Job	f	33	42	0.57523594
	m	9	15	
Overall	f	163	62	0.47341239
	m	49	23	

3) Influence of the respondents' age

Two of the 101 respondents did not indicate their age. The age groups are formed in the following way, as the median age of all the respondents is 23 years and the mean age 26 years:

1. age group 1 (39 respondents): 18–22 years
2. age group 2 (31 respondents): 23–26 years
3. age group 3 (29 respondents): 27–53 years

The variable *age* is thus relatively homogenous in this case study.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers (overall) according to the three age groups (total of respondents: n=99).</i>			
Respondents' age group	VER	STD	p-value
Age group 1 (18–22 years)	58	59	0.72578605
Age group 2 (23–26 years)	49	44	
Age group 3 (27–53 years)	48	39	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers (overall) according to the three age groups (total of respondents: n=99).</i>			
Respondents' age group	VER	STD	p-value
Age group 1 (18–22 years)	89	28	0.12045248
Age group 2 (23–26 years)	68	25	
Age group 3 (27–53 years)	55	32	

4) Influence of the respondents' major at the university

Only one of the 101 respondents did not indicate his or her major at the university. The respondents' majors proved to be diverse, but their distribution too imbalanced for meaningful calculation. As earlier research showed the influence of linguistic education on language attitudes (see Subsection 2.6.1), the respondents' majors are divided into the following two factors for the following calculations:

1. linguistic subjects (72 respondents): general linguistics, language technology, logopaedics, different philologies, phonetics, translation studies
2. non-linguistic subjects (28 respondents): Asian studies, astronomy, developing countries studies, economics, forestry, Latin American studies, law, general and Finnish literature, medicine, music science, pedagogics, special and early childhood pedagogics, theatre science, theology.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers (overall) according to the study subject groups (total of respondents: n=100).</i>			
Respondents' study subject group	VER	STD	p-value
Linguistic subjects	120	96	0.15493278
Non-linguistic subjects	39	45	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers (overall) according to the study subject groups (total of respondents: n=100).</i>			
Respondents' study subject group	VER	STD	p-value
Linguistic subjects	159	57	0.31901025
Non-linguistic subjects	57	27	

5) Influence of the numbers of languages the respondents use in daily life

One of the 101 respondents did not indicate how many languages s/he uses in daily life. 62 respondents indicated to use one language, 33 respondents to use two languages and five respondents to use three languages. The respondents who indicated to use more than one language are grouped together. The following calculation contrast thus everyday monolinguals (*one language*, 62 respondents) with everyday multilinguals (*two or three languages*, 38 respondents) in a broad sense.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers (overall) according to the number of languages they use in daily life (total of respondents: n=100).</i>			
Number of the languages used in daily life	VER	STD	p-value
One language	98	88	0.89036649
Two or three languages	61	53	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers (overall) according to the number of languages they use in daily life (total of respondents: n=100).</i>			
Number of the languages used in daily life	VER	STD	p-value
One language	129	57	0.19241881
Two or three languages	87	27	

6) Influence of the respondents' language learning history

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers (overall) according to the number of languages they have learnt (total of respondents: n=101).</i>			
Number of learnt languages	VER	STD	p-value
1 language	8	16	0.27264235
2 languages	30	24	
3 languages	55	47	
4 languages	34	23	
5 or more languages	33	33	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers (overall) according to the number of languages they have learnt (total of respondents: n=101).</i>			
Number of learnt languages	VER	STD	p-value
1 language	13	11	
2 languages	40	14	
3 languages	74	28	

4 languages	44	13	0.32027189
5 or more languages	47	19	

7) Influence of the frequency of the respondents' contact with non-native speakers

Three of the 101 respondents did not indicate the frequency of their contact with non-native speakers and seven respondents indicated to have no contact. The indications of the contact frequency (daily, weekly, often, sometimes, monthly, seldom) are grouped into the following two factors:

1. often (41 respondents), containing the indications *daily*, *weekly* and *often*
2. not often (50 respondents), containing the indications *sometimes*, *monthly* and *seldom*.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers (overall) according to their frequency of contact with non-native speakers (total of respondents: n=91).</i>			
Frequency of the respondents' contact with non-native speakers	VER	STD	p-value
Often	60	63	0.28084423
Not often	83	67	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers (overall) according to their frequency of contact with non-native speakers (total of respondents: n=91).</i>			
Frequency of the respondents' contact with non-native speakers	VER	STD	p-value
Often	90	33	0.92441941
Not often	109	41	

8) Influence of the varieties used by the respondents' non-native acquaintances

Ten of the 101 respondents did not answer this question and seven indicated to have no contact with non-native speakers. 23 respondents indicated that their non-native acquaintances use a vernacular (factor *vernacular*), 29 respondents indicated that their non-native acquaintances use the standard variety (factor *standard variety*) and 32 respondents indicated that their non-native acquaintances use a hybrid variety (factor *hybrid variety*).

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers (overall) according to the variety used by their non-native acquaintances (total of respondents: n=84).</i>			
Variety used by the respondents' non-native acquaintances	VER	STD	p-value
Vernacular	34	35	
Standard	51	36	

Hybrid variety	48	48	0.40071693
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b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers (overall) according to the variety used by their non-native acquaintances (total of respondents: n=84).</i>			
Variety used by the respondents' non-native acquaintances	VER	STD	p-value
Vernacular	48	21	0.84197917
Standard	64	23	
Hybrid variety	70	26	

9) Influence of the respondents' place of growing up in Finland

One of the 101 respondents did not indicate his or her place of growing up in Finland. The indicated places proved to be diverse, but too different for meaningful calculation. Therefore, the variable is divided here into the following two factors:

1. from the Helsinki capital region (50 respondents)
2. not from the Helsinki capital region (50 respondents).

The groups are sufficiently balanced to allow a more fine-grain analysis of the respondents' choices according to the scenarios.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers per scenario according to their place of growing up in Finland (total of respondents: n=100).</i>				
Scenario	Respondents' place of growing up	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	capital region	31	19	0.02594021
	not capital region	41	9	
Flat	capital region	23	27	0.31731051
	not capital region	28	22	
Job	capital region	17	33	0.5344095
	not capital region	20	30	
Overall	capital region	71	79	0.03724879
	not capital region	89	61	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers per scenario according to their place of growing up in Finland (total of respondents: n=100).</i>				
Scenario	Respondents' place of growing up	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	capital region	42	8	0.11001541
	not capital region	47	3	
Flat	capital region	43	7	0.78002627
	not capital region	42	8	
Job	capital region	23	27	0.6873218
	not capital region	21	29	
Overall	capital region	108	42	0.79575593
	not capital region	110	40	

10) Influence of the respondents' international experience

The respondents' international experience is operationalised as a stay abroad. 11 respondents reported to have stayed abroad for half a year, 15 for one year, four for one and a half year, four for two years and one respondent each for two and a half, three and seven years. They are grouped together and contrasted with the 64

respondents who reported to not have stayed abroad. The variable is thus divided into the following two factors:

1. *stayed abroad* (37 respondents) and
2. *not stayed abroad* (64 respondents).

The groups are sufficiently balanced to allow a more fine-grain analysis of the respondents' choices according to the scenarios.

a) Non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers according to their international experience (total of respondents: n=101).</i>				
Scenario	Respondents' international experience	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	Abroad	22	15	0.04574391
	Not abroad	50	14	
Flat	Abroad	14	23	0.0530609
	Not abroad	37	27	
Job	Abroad	17	20	0.13972365
	Not abroad	20	44	
Overall	Abroad	53	58	0.17995447
	Not abroad	107	85	

b) Native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of native speakers per scenario and overall according to their international experience (total of respondents: n=101).</i>				
Scenario	Respondents' international experience	VER	STD	p-value
Flat	Abroad	30	7	0.09652749
	Not abroad	59	5	
Pres	Abroad	28	9	0.07583396
	Not abroad	57	7	
Job	Abroad	14	23	0.37744715
	Not abroad	30	34	
Overall	Abroad	72	46	0.03694381
	Not abroad	146	46	

Appendix G: Results of the listening test and the direct question

1) Preferences of the non-native vernacular and standard variety

<i>Table: The respondents choices of the non-native vernacular and standard speakers in the listening test (overall) (total of respondents: n=303).</i>		
Variety	Absolute number of choices	Percentage number of choices
VER	160	52.8
STD	143	47.2

<i>Table: The respondents' non-native variety preferences according to their answers to the direct question (total of respondents: n=95).</i>		
Variety	Absolute number of choices	Percentage number of choices
both varieties without restrictions, just as the non-native speakers like or are able to	41	43.2
both varieties, used as native speakers do	31	32.6
VER	21	22.1
STD	2	2.1

2) Methodical comparison

<i>Table: Methodical comparison of the respondents' variety preference (vernacular preference; absolute and percentage numbers; total of respondents: n=21).</i>					
Scenario	Method	VER (absolute)	STD (absolute)	VER (percentage)	STD (percentage)
Pres	direct question	21	0	100	0
	listening test	8	13	38.1	61.6
Flat	direct question	21	0	100	0
	listening test	9	12	42.9	57.1
Job	direct question	21	0	100	0
	listening test	10	11	47.6	52.4
Overall	direct question	21	0	100	0
	listening test	27	36	42.9	57.1

<i>Table: Methodical comparison of the respondents' variety preference (standard preference; absolute and percentage numbers; total of respondents: n=2).</i>					
Scenario	Method	VER (absolute)	STD (absolute)	VER (percentage)	STD (percentage)
Pres	direct question	0	2	0	100
	listening test	1	1	50	50
Flat	direct question	0	2	0	100
	listening test	0	2	0	100
Job	direct question	0	2	0	100
	listening test	0	2	0	100
Overall	direct question	0	2	0	100
	listening test	1	5	16.7	84.3

3) Comparison of native and non-native variety preferences

<i>Table: The respondents' choices amongst native and non-native speakers (total of respondents: n=101).</i>				
Scenario	Speaker	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	native	89	12	0.00294054
	non-native	72	29	
Flat	native	85	16	3.40E-007
	non-native	51	50	
Job	native	44	57	0.31490284
	non-native	37	64	
Overall	native	218	85	0.00000115
	non-native	160	143	

4) Dependence of the preference on the communication situation

<i>Table: The respondents' choices of non-native speakers in the different scenarios (total of respondents: n=101).</i>			
Scenario	VER	STD	p-value
Pres	72	29	0.00000442
Flat	51	50	
Job	37	64	

Appendix H: Justifications given by the respondents for their speaker choices

The following tables present the respondents' original justifications (in Finnish) for choosing a native or non-native speaker in each of the scenarios (group presentation scenario, shared flat scenario and job interview scenario). They served as a basis for extracting the respondents' attitudes to the non-native vernacular and standard variety.

Group presentation scenario, non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' reasons for choosing a non-native speaker in the group presentation scenario.</i>			
Categories VER	Count	Categories STD	Count
natural luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luonnollisempi	9	serious/ready paneutuneempi asiaan valmistautuneempi vakavampi	3
enthusiastic/eager/interested innostuneempi innostuneempi innostuneempi innostuneempi innokkaampi innokkaampi kiinnostuneempi kiinnostuneempi	8	nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying ystävällisempi mukavampi	2
relaxed/not stiff/not forced rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi	6	clear helpompi ymmärtää selkeämmät konsonantit, tauot	2

better language proficiency sujuvampi sujuvampi sujuvampi osaa suomea paremmin	4	organisoituneempi yhteistyökykyisempi rauhallisempi myönteisempi asenne koska ulkomaalainen	(only once)
familiar/intimate tuttavallisempi tuttavallisempi tutumpi	3		
clear selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi	3		
close ei ulkomaalainen ”ajattelisin, että helpompi pitää hänen kanssaan, kun äidinkieli suomi” samaa kieltä äidinkielenä puhuva tuntuu läheisemmältä	3		
brisk reippaampi reippaampi	2		
authentic/not pretending aidompi aidompi	2		
(self-)confident/not shy vähemmän ujo vähemmän arka	2		
easier to approach/less distancing helpompi lähestyttävä kutsuvampi	2		
nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying ystävällisempi leppoisampi	2		
normaalisti joustavampi ahkerampi päättäväisempi luotettavampi vapautuneempi kuulostaa siltä, että tietää tarkemmin, mitä tekee vakavampi	(only once)		

vähemmän virallinen			
register is better/more suitable sopivampi	1		

Group presentation scenario, native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' reasons for choosing a native speaker in the group presentation scenario.</i>			
Categories VER	Count	Categories STD	Count
natural luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luonnollisempi luonnollisempi luonnollisempi luonnollisempi	19	nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying ystävällisempi pehmeämmän ja lempeämmän tuntuinen vähemmän tunkeileva/ahdistava	3
relaxed/not stiff/not forced rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi vähemmän jäykkä vähemmän jäykkä	18	ammattimaisempi varmempi vakuuttavampi fiksumpi reippaampi	(only once)

vähemmän tönkkö			
normal/less strange/less frightening vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän creepy normaalimpi tavallisempi	7		
close samaistumisen tunnetta enemmän itseni tyyppisen kuuloinen lähempänä minua itseäni lähempänä omaa puhetyyliä lähempänä omaa murrettani, joten kulttuuritaustakin ehkä samanlaisempi	5		
easier to approach/less distancing helpommin lähestyttävä helpommin lähestyttävä helpommin lähestyttävä vähemmän etäännyttävä	4		
familiar/intimate tuttavallisempi tuttavallisempi tuttavallisempi	3		
informal riittävän epävirallinen vähemmän virallinen ei liian virallinen	3		
trustworthy luotettavampi luotettavampi	2		
authentic/not pretending aidompi vähemmän teennäinen	2		
ei niin nipottaja nuorekkaampi kuulostaa turvalliselta vähemmän muodollinen	(only once)		

register is better/more suitable parempi parempi parempi parempi sopivampi sopii paremmin rennompaan tilanteeseen sopivampi epävirallisessa tilanteessa riitävän puhekielinen	8		
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Shared flat scenario, non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' reasons for choosing a non-native speaker in the shared flat scenario.</i>			
Categories VER	Count	Categories STD	Count
natural luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luonnollisempi luonnollisempi	6	nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying vähemmän pissis vähemmän snobi ja ylimielinen vähemmän ärsyttävä ei liian cool slangipuhuja vähemmän ylirento miellyttävämpi mukavampi mukavampi kivempi ystävällisempi ei tympeä	11
relaxed/not stiff/not forced rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi	6		
clear selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi	3		
easier to approach/less distancing helpommin lähestyttävä helpommin lähestyttävä helpommin lähestyttävä	3		
normal/less strange/less frightening	3		

normaali vähemmän outo vähemmän outo			
nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying ystävällisempi leppoisampi vähemmän määräilevä	3		
authentic/not pretending aidompi aidompi	2		
luotettavampi vakuuttavampi vähemmän nipottaja vähemmän aksenttia, siksi mielikuva lähemmästä kulttuurista	(only once)	selkeämpi virallisempi fiksumpi korrektimpi hitaammin puhuttu rauhallisempi rehdimpi koulutetumpi ei-nasaalinen puhe	(only once)
register is better/more suitable parempi	1	register is better/more suitable parempi	1

Shared flat scenario, native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' reasons for choosing a native speaker in the shared flat scenario.</i>			
Categories VER	Count	Categories STD	Count
natural luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi vähemmän epäluonteva luonnollisempi luonnollisempi luonnollisuus luonnollisempi luonnollisempi	15	trustworthy luotettavampi luotettavampi luotettava	3
relaxed/not stiff/not forced rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi	15	business-like/factual asiallisempi asiallisempi asiallinen	3

rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi vähemmän jäykkä vähemmän väkinäinen			
normal/less strange/less frightening normaali tavallisempi, koska puhekieli vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän outo vähemmän omituinen vähemmän creepy vähemmän pelottava	10	honest rehellinen rehtimpi	2
nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying mukavampi mukavampi vähemmän sosiaalisesti rajoittunut vähemmän määräilevä/auktoriteettinen sympaattisempi leppoisampi	6		
authentic/not pretending aidompi aidompi aidompi vähemmän teeskentelijä vähemmän teennäinen	5		
familiar/intimate tuttavallisempi tuttavallisempi tuttavallisempi tuttavallisempi	4		
easier to approach/less distancing helpommin lähestytävä helpommin lähestytävä helpommin lähestyttävä helpommin lähestyttävä	4		
close lähempänä minua itseäni enemmän minun tyylinen puu samalla lailla kuin itse puhuisin	3		
informal vähemmän muodollinen epämuodollisempi	2		
luotettavampi spontaanimpi ei liian asiallinen	(only once)	kiltimpi kiinnostuneempi virallisempi	(only once)

rytmi äänessä ei liian virallinen vähemmän pikkutarkka itsevarmempi			
register is better/more suitable puhekielisyyss parempi rennon asumisilmapiirin muodostamisessa parempi sopii tilanteeseen paremmin sopivampi sopivampi	6	register is better/more suitable parempi	1

Job interview scenario, non-native speakers

<i>Table: The respondents' reasons for choosing a non-native speaker in the job interview scenario.</i>			
Categories VER	Count	Categories STD	Count
natural luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luonnollisempi luonnollisempi	6	clear selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi selkeämpi selvempi vähemmän puuroutunut	10
authentic/not pretending aidompi aidompi aidompi aidompi teeskentelemättömämpi	5	better language proficiency monisanaisempi, parempi kielitaito vähemmän aksenttia paremmin artikuloitu sujuvampi parempi suomenkielen taito	5
relaxed/not stiff/not forced rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi	4	business-like/factual asiallisempi asiallisempi asiallisempi	3
clear selkeämpi selkeämpi selvempi	3	nice/pleasant/friendly/jovial/less annoying miellyttävämpi miellyttävämpi miellyttävämpi	3
better language proficiency parempi suomi sujuvampi	2	(self-)confident/not shy varmempi itsevarmempi varmempi	3

close ei ulkomaalainen helpompi valita syntyperäiseltä suomalaiselta kuulostava ei kuulostanut syntyperäiseltä suomalaiselta, mutta hänen puheensa kuulosti siltä kuin olisi kuitenkin tottunut suomalaiseen kulttuuriin, joten valitsin hänet	2	enthusiastic/eager/interested innokkaampi innostuneempi kiinnostuneempi	3
enthusiastic/eager/interested innokkaampi kiinnostuneempi	2	expert asiantuntevampi asiantuntevampi	2
brisk reippaampi reippaampi	2	correct korrektisti korrektimpi	2
		not aggressive vähemmän aggressiivinen vähemmän hyökäävää, vaan nöyrä	2
luotettavampi	(only once)	puhetavassa vieraampi korostus, siksi kiinnostavampi seurata iloisempi reippaampi vakavampi kohteliaampi vähemmän laiska pätevämpi huolellisempi hitaammin puhuttu rauhallisempi ammattimaisempi luotettavampi	(only once)
register is better/more suitable parempi	1	register is better/more suitable parempi parempi parempi parempi parempi sopivampi ei liikaa puhekielisyyttä	7

Job interview scenario, native speakers

Table: The respondents' reasons for choosing a native speaker in the job interview scenario.

Categories VER	Count	Categories STD	Count
natural luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi luontevampi ”mulla” kuulostaa luontevammalta kuin ”minulla” luonnollisempi luonnollisempi luonnollisempi	12	business-like/factual asiallisempi asiallisempi asiallisempi asiallisempi asiallisempi asiallisempi vaikutelma	6
relaxed/not stiff/not forced rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi rennompi vähemmän jäykkä vähemmän tönkkö vähemmän väkinäinen	10	official virallisempi virallisempi virallisempi virallisempi	4
authentic/not pretending aidompi aidompi aidompi vähemmän harjoiteltu kuulostaa vähemmän yrittämiseltä oma itsensä, eikä teeskentele vähemmän teennäinen	7	convincing vakuuttavampi vakuuttavampi vakuuttavampi	3
		professional ammattimaisempi ammattimaisempi ammattimaisempi	3
		trustworthy luotettavampi luotettavampi luotettavampi	3
		(self-)confident/not shy itsevarmempi varmempi jämerämpi	3
		effective/hard-working tehokkaampi vähemmän laiska ryhdikkäämpi	3
		clear selkeämpi selkeämpi	2
		serious/ready vakavampi helpompi ottaa vakavasti	2
		correct	2

		korrektimpi korrektisti	
selkeämpi mukavampi kotoisampi läheisempi vähemmän outo vähemmän muodollinen	(only once)	kiinnostuneempi hitaammin puhuttu muodollisempi pätevämpi kohteliaampi	(only once)
register is better/more suitable parempi parempi	2	register is better/more suitable sopivampi sopivampi parempi parempi parempi parempi parempi mieluummin liian kirjakielistä ei liikaa puhekielisyyttä	9

Appendix I: Categorisation of the respondents' justifications

<i>Table: Categorisation of the respondents' reasons for choosing a speaker (non-native and native) as used for the main study.</i>							
Nonnat VER		Nat VER		Nonnat STD		Nat STD	
natural	21	natural	46	nice/pleasant/ friendly/jovial/ less annoying	16	business- like/factual	9
relaxed/not stiff/not forced	16	relaxed/not stiff/not forced	43	clear	13	trustworthy	6
enthusiastic/ eager/interested	10	normal/less strange/less frightening	18	better language proficiency	5	official	5
authentic/ not pretending	9	authentic/ not pretending	14	calm/ slowly spoken	5	nice/pleasant/ friendly/jovial/ less annoying	4
clear	9	close	9	business- like/factual	3	convincing	4
better language proficiency	7	easier to approach/less distancing	8	(self-)confident/ not shy	3	professional	4
close	7	nice/pleasant/ friendly/jovial/ less annoying	8	enthusiastic/ eager/interested	3	(self-)confident/ not shy	4
easier to approach/less distancing	5	familiar/ intimate	7	serious/ready	3	effective/hard- working	3
nice/pleasant/ friendly/jovial/ less annoying	5	informal	7	correct	3	honest	2
normal/less strange/less frightening	4	trustworthy	3	foreigner-like	3	enthusiastic/ eager/interested	2
brisk	4			not aggressive	2	clear	2
familiar/ intimate	3			expert	2	serious/ready	2
trustworthy	3					correct	2
(self-)confident/ not shy	2						

register is better/more suitable	3	register is better/more suitable	16	register is better/more suitable	8	register is better/more suitable	10
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Table: Categorisation of the respondents' reasons for not choosing a speaker (non-native and native) as used for the main study.

Nonnat VER		Nat VER		Nonnat STD		Nat STD	
arrogant/gruff	3	(none mentioned twice or more)		foreigner-like	7	strange/frightening	20
aggressive/intrusive	2			strange/frightening	3	artificial/not natural	15
not interested/not serious	2			artificial/not natural	3	stiff/forced/strict/too exact/not relaxed	13
not clear	2			stiff/forced/strict/too exact/not relaxed	3	not suitable/not normally used	9
				too shy	3	too official	6
				not suitable/not normally used	2	poor social skills	5
				nagging	2	too formal	4